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HUMAN EVENTS
YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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January 15, 1966 Vol. XXVI, No. 3 Copyright 1966 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC. NEWSPAPER

The Molding of a Marxist

From the Richmond *News Leader*

"I see myself as a product of Marxist and pacifist thought."—Staughton Lynd.

The growing estrangement between the general public and the general academic world has been suddenly brought into focus by the appearance on enemy soil of three native American academicians —Professors Herbert Aptheker and Staughton Lynd, and professional student Thomas Hayden.

The estrangement is no new development; it is the product of many years and it will continue to get worse. The process is somewhat clearly identified in the parties to this indefensible venture: An old-line Moscow Communist leading a naive Yale professor by the nose, and dragging a gauzy student behind them. So it has been for 40 years.

All this time the intellectuals have been accusing the American public of "anti-intellectualism." And with good reason, since most of the intellectuals who have hurled the charge have been working might and main to undermine the values of the public at large.

To say that the American public distrusts intelligence, or the creative use of brainpower, is absurd. The clergyman, the lawyer, the writer, the historian have always been held in high esteem. But "intellectualism" is a style of thinking that recedes from reality, and self-conscious "intellectuals" have not always been very intelligent.

The difference is this: When the intellectual's mind turns in on itself, it soon loses the guideposts that the ordinary pragmatic mind sees every day. The man of common sense is reasonably sure that he can determine the facts in most cases; more than that, he is sure of himself.

The intellectual is always beset by doubt, and by the impossibility of knowing anything with reasonable surety. His own knowledge is insignificant, in relation to the mass, and he prefers to think of life in terms of abstractions, in terms of "society" or "humanity." He studies mankind, but he does not often study man. He feels that he is the product of sweeping currents of history.

The ordinary man regards these abstractions with a baleful eye. Because the intellectual world of thought doesn't bear much resemblance to the facts of life, it is plain that these lofty fellows are a potential hazard to day-to-day operations. Between the man of common sense and the intellectual there is an incompatibility of values: The one pragmatic, absolutist and reasonably self-assured, and the other subjective, relativist and driven to a tortured, schizoid doubt about everything he knows.

Thus the intellectual knows only one thing: He knows where the enemy is—and the enemy is the anti-intellectual. There is "no enemy to the left" because in that direction lie further, interesting abstractions and more delightfully painful doubt.

The intellectual can understand the Communist, but he can't understand the ordinary man. In the back of his mind lie many reservations: The Communists may be partly right, just as we may be partly wrong; the Communists are a lot like us, and face the same problems and anxieties. But of course, to believe that, you have to believe that the Communists are intellectuals.

Most likely the Communists are too smart to be intellectuals, but they know how to exploit such foolish men. Marxism is the bait, with its dialectical categories. Aptheker assumes the pompous role of director of "The American Institute of Marxist Studies."

Yale Prof. Staughton Lynd, (left), an avowed Marxist, and Communist party theoretician Herbert Aptheker have traveled to North Viet Nam in violation of U.S. regulations.

When Aptheker got his orders in Helsinki to arrange a propaganda gesture, Lynd was the perfect sucker, if you can call a man who knows exactly what he was doing a sucker. Lynd's parents were both famous sociologists.

He attended the Ethical Culture and Fieldston schools, both designed as nurseries of the left. He went through the usual round of Socialist, Trotskyite, pacifist and civil rights organizations dedicated to the overthrow of contemporary culture and attitudes. After a stint for COFO in Mississippi in 1964, he emerged as professor of history at Yale.

Such a man, then, was ready to doubt the wisdom of his country's defense against communism. We may be wrong. Ho Chi Minh may be right; who can tell what's right anyway? Let us look at the good things communism is doing, perhaps set up a coalition government. . . . These and other arguments are implicit in his decision to defy his country's law on at least two grave points and offer his aid to the enemy.

And just as Lynd himself sees nothing wrong in running around with Aptheker, his less extreme academic colleagues do not feel the need to dissociate themselves from him. The intellectual community is closer in its style of thinking to Aptheker than to the man on the street—or to the man in the White House. They are busy training up more students like Thomas Hayden in the same defeatist paths. The molding of a Marxist is a long and conscientious task.

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Coming: A Battle Over the FBI

Will the bureau be political or efficient?

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

When Congress convenes there will be a determined push by security-minded members of the House for legislation to require Senate confirmation of the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This is at once a tribute to the incumbent, John Edgar Hoover, and an indication of suspicion for the wheeling-and-dealing aspects of the Johnson Administration.

A bill to this effect has already been passed by the Senate. In the House of Representatives, however, Chairman Emanuel Celler, of the Judiciary Committee, has done his utmost to prevent the measure from reaching the floor. There is an ironic angle to this, given Mr. Celler's bitter criticism of other chairmen who have bottled up legislation.

Mr. Celler and the Democratic liberals in the House have argued that preventing a committee from taking up a bill—and therefore preventing a vote by the Congress—is violative of the democratic process. By a not so very odd coincidence, they have waved this argument whenever legislation that they favor has been held up.

What is at stake in the case of the FBI succession bill is the control of

When J. Edgar Hoover steps down, who will name his successor?

FBI files and the future use of the bureau for purposes which have little to do with the investigation of crime—and nothing at all with the war on subversion. In the years of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, the FBI has been under tremendous pressure from Attorneys General Robert F. Kennedy and Nicholas deB. Katzenbach. There has been criticism of Mr. Hoover in some quarters for presumably bowing to this pressure. But if there is any truth in this, it is far more noteworthy that he has been able to hold the line so well.

When Mr. Hoover retires, the Administration will be in a position to appoint a man who is far more malleable. This is the fear of those who press for legislation which will give the Congress a check on the new director. At present the man who will influence the choice, when Mr. Hoover terminates his long and honorable service, is Atty. Gen. Katzenbach. And it is Mr. Katzenbach who has been lobbying most persistently against the proposed change.

In a way, it is understandable why Mr. Katzenbach wants to retain his power over FBI directors. The new appointee will not be buttressed by the tremendous prestige which has made the FBI relatively impregnable under Mr. Hoover. The need for congressional approval will force the Administration to find a man of stature—not a hack, crony, or ideologue.

There are reports on Capitol Hill that the Administration has already begun the build-up on its choice. He is Adam Yarmolinsky, who was singled out by Congress for political extinction when he was being touted for an important post in the anti-poverty war. Like a phoenix, however, Mr. Yarmolinsky returned to prominence as deputy assistant secretary for International Security Affairs.

If it is not simply the kind of self-propelled scuttlebutt which floats down House and Senate corridors, then there would be some semblance of sense in this new honor for Mr. Yarmolinsky. The word "security" is now part of his title, much to the shock and chagrin of legislators here, and could be used to enhance his credentials.

Congress, of course, would never have it—and this, to bring this account full circle, is why there will be a considerable push to make the appointment of an FBI director subject to senatorial consent.

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Pat Brown's Gift

California Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown has provided a juicy campaign issue to conservative GOP gubernatorial candidate Ronald Reagan, Brown's main opponent in 1966.

Over the holidays Brown disclosed that California's budget for 1966-67 will climb to more than $4.5 billion and require new taxes to make up a deficit of up to $300 million in the budget for 1965-1966.

Brown revealed the new budget will confront the predominantly Democratic legislature with the unpleasant task of raising taxes in an election year, remarking, "I can't think of anything governors or legislators like less to do."

Brown, it is learned, is also in trouble for his defense of Lt. Gov. Glenn M. Anderson, who was criticized by the McCone report for his delay in releasing the National Guard to put down the Watts riot. Brown defended Anderson in a strong manner. Democratic insiders, moreover, say the split within the Democratic party and the split within the California Democratic Council, an unofficial leftist branch of the Democratic party, will cause Brown much trouble if he decides to run again, as he now indicates he will.

☐ ☐ ☐

44¢ DOLLAR—The value of the dollar has now dropped below 44 cents—43.9 cents to be exact—compared with the 1939-40 dollar, the Labor Department reported recently.

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Many Congressmen Are Concerned

Move Launched to Ban Strikes at Key War Plants

By VICTOR RIESEL

A fifth season was fashioned in the final weeks of the year—a weird season of strikes against space capsules, jet fighters, space centers, air bases, gun powder, cartridge brass, mortar shells and an electric power plant or two.

Now a counter strike is in the making. Some congressmen are flying in on a wing and a swear word—an oath to propose laws banning all strikes for the duration in plants which contribute to the security of the United States.

These solons are looking to Sen. McClellan for leadership. For some time now he has been fighting for a law banning stoppages in defense production. His anger now is matched only by his weariness with pledges from national labor leaders to keep production rolling.

They can't. Fact is, this is the season of the rebel youth. In many areas leaders no longer control the rank and file.

Some senators now believe there should be laws as a sort of legal antibiotic to cure the strike euphoria now swiftly spreading through some of the land's most vital installations.

There is, for example, a threat to strike the General Dynamics Fort Worth plant where the swept-wing F111 fighter is being developed and built.

Members of the machinists' union plan to hit the bricks by January 22 unless they get what they want. And what is it which the impetuous proletariat demands? Better seniority rules, swifter settlement of grievances and a change in management's policy of farming out some technical work.

Apparently money no longer is any object. Society is becoming lush. Members of the same International Association of Machinists struck the Olin-Mathieson "ball powder" plant on December 1. They wanted many things. But what most of all?

There is a rather outspoken shop steward in the company's East Alton complex. His name is Harold Grubaugh. He put it bluntly when asked why the 3,800 IAM men and women shut down the only plant, which, according to the Department of Defense, can make "ball powder" for bullets for the small arms needed by the young American troops in Viet Nam to protect themselves against attack and mutilation.

The testy local labor official, *nouveau arrivee* to power, said in effect: The big issue is the length of the contract proposed by the union's top leaders and negotiators and the company.

Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.) is angry with labor leaders who break pledges.

"We just don't want a three-year contract," said the shop steward. "As soon as the company understands this problem, we can reach an agreement."

And what has caused his rank-and-file group four times to reject the pact made by the union's elected officials and the company? Six months, that's what.

The union's top leadership and the firm agreed to a three-year contract—36 months. The shop steward contingent said they'd settle for a 30-month agreement. So for a difference of six months they repudiated their own leaders four times and struck the vital plant making powder for the MI6 and M14 rifles and the helicopter machine guns.

The doughty shop steward had more to say. His horizons, unlike the men in foxholes, are not limited.

Grubaugh, who undoubtedly is not the armchair type, added that the strike had "no adverse effect upon the war effort."

Thus he assumed a more knowing stance than the angry President of the United States and Secretary of Labor Wirtz who at 10:35 a.m. Wednesday, December 29, said: "Any extended prolongation of that strike would threaten very seriously the supply situation as far as propellants for projectiles are concerned."

The shop steward, shepherd of his people, disagreed with the Department of Defense and with his own international union president, Roy Siemiller. Both sources were alarmed as long ago as mid-December. I checked with them constantly.

And, said the shop steward, his people just did not want to tie themselves up for so long a contract. Commenting on this, one sailors' union official said: "We're always with the working people in their efforts to do better, but some of them ought to see the hundreds of National Maritime Union seamen on the hot decks of ships on the 'hook' standing by in the waters of Viet Nam.

"Sometimes tour men are restricted to the freighters there for as long as 50 days, with no mail, no entertainment to speak of, mighty little shore leave, no real refreshment, and less relief from the hot sun. But they're standing by and they'll sail again. Some of our retirees are even returning to the sea to help."

There just does not seem to be much patience with the new season of the shop stewards. It is the season of the returning solons. They may yet push through their anti-strike law.

These are the congressmen who believe constituencies stretch east of Suez where the young and best of our land are meeting the worst.

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Pickets demonstrate in front of the Olin-Mathieson munitions plant in East Alton, Ill. Officials have warned such strikes endanger the Viet Nam war effort.

Why Does LBJ Rely on Harriman?

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

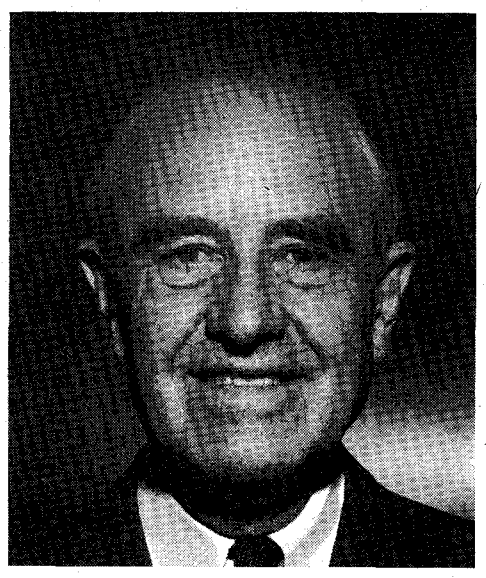
The news that W. Averell Harriman was discussing a Vietnamese "settlement" in Warsaw can scarcely cheer the Saigon government.

For two decades the millionaire diplomat has demonstrated a naivete in dealing with the Communists. In 1946, after it was clear that Stalin had no intention of granting Eastern Europe the free elections he had pledged at Yalta, Harriman urged anti-Communist Rumanians to join in a coalition government with the Reds.

The free Rumanians expressed misgivings, but under Harriman's prodding they joined—with the inevitable bad result. Opposition parties were first intimidated, then oppressed. In 1951, Juliu Maniu, a revered Rumanian leader who had warned Harriman of the folly of a coalition government, was reported to have died in prison, a martyr to his country's freedom.

This example apparently had little effect on Harriman. Later that year, he told a congressional committee he "could not see why Stalin took on so many commitments which he subsequently failed to honor." In a 1959 book, *Peace With Russia*, he repeated this notion. "Historians will argue for many years," he wrote, "why Stalin failed to carry out his [Yalta] commitments."

Harriman's "solution" to international problems is all too often accommodation. In 1955 he expressed the belief that Chiang Kai-shek should withdraw from the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu to placate Mao Tse-tung. In 1961, he threw up his hands and said that we should recognize the fact that "sooner or later" Red China was getting into the United Nations.



Career diplomat Averell Harriman has a poor record in dealing with the Communists.

Harriman was the chief architect of the 1962 Laotian "compromise" that eventually gave pro-Communist "neutralists" control of that vital nation. Two years earlier, the Laotian people had gone to the polls and given the anti-Communist ruling junta a sweeping endorsement—government-supported candidates won 57 of 59 seats in the National Assembly. But Harriman was obsessed with the idea of a coalition government. He cut off a $3-million U.S. aid program and blackjacked Prince Boun Oum and Gen. Phoumi Nosovan into acceptance of the coalition plan.

President Kennedy waxed eloquent in his tribute to Harriman. "The kingdom of Laos, which has been torn for so long by fratricidal strife, now stands on the threshhold of a new era," he declared. "It now has the opportunity to become united and independent, free to pursue its own chosen course of neutrality."

Asian leaders disagreed. Sir Wilfrid Kent Hughes, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Australian parliament, was caustic:

"Averell Harriman . . . has the chance to go down in history as the Churchill or the Chamberlain of Southeast Asia. When I was in Bangkok, he seemed to have decided on the latter, umbrella and all."

★ ★ ★

The assistant secretary of state for International Organization Affairs, Harlan Cleveland, recently declared that the Soviet Union is in the process of dramatic change—"from international outlaw to responsible member of the world community."

Just how responsible the Soviets have become can be seen in an editorial published last month in *Red Star*, official organ of the Soviet Army. It said in part:

"The conscience and reason of the people can no longer put up with U.S. imperialism's monstrous, dirty war in South Viet Nam. The crimes of the U.S. aggressors in Viet Nam have disgraced the United States and made it the most hated country in the world. The Soviet people and the people of our planet unanimously declare their solidarity with heroic Viet Nam and condemn and curse the U.S. killers responsible for the martyrdom and death of thousands upon thousands of Vietnamese women and children."

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• Rep. John Anderson (R.-Ill.) has ripped Administration plans to cut back on housing for American servicemen at the same time "Great Society" planners are ready to subsidize the rent of the rich. "It is completely inexplicable to me why housing for military families should be singled out as an item that we can do without, particularly when we are engaged in a growing conflict and the morale of our servicemen is so very important," he said. The Illinois lawmaker quoted Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare John W. Gardner as saying that domestic welfare spending will go up and in some cases increase "quite strikingly."

ANDERSON

• *No Surprise Department: Airman Patrick J. Nugent, fiance of LBJ's younger daughter Luci, has been given a job by the Senate Commerce Committee, according to the Associated Press. Committee chairman Warren Magnuson (D.-Wash.) is an old friend of the President's.*

• *Fact* magazine, edited by Ralph Ginzberg, has taken out a full-page ad in the January 2 edition of *The Worker*, official house organ of the Communist Party, U.S.A. In 1964 Ginzberg caused a heated public controversy by publishing in *Fact* an interview with a number of psychiatrists who, without ever having talked with Goldwater personally, said that he was psychologically unfit to serve as President. (Goldwater has filed a libel suit over the article.)

GINZBERG

• *Massachusetts Atty. Gen. Edward Brooke, seeking the seat now occupied by retiring Republican Sen. Leverett Saltonstall, was asked recently if he would run his race as John Lindsay did in New York City. Brooke, who might become the third Negro U.S. senator in history, responded: "I don't want to criticize Mr. Lindsay—he won. But I believe there is a moral, if not legal, obligation to represent the party if nominated."*

• A federal grand jury in Washington has indicted LBJ protege and former Senate aide Bobby Baker for tax evasion, conspiracy and other offenses. Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach said the nine-count indictment charged that Baker underestimated his income by $54,558 for 1961 and 1962 and accused him of felonious theft of $67,000 from two California savings and loan executives. The big question now is: Who will prosecute Baker? Newly confirmed U.S. Attorney David Bress, whose job it would normally be to prosecute Baker, came under fire from Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) last year because of his previous association with a Baker firm.

BAKER

• *New York* Times *reporter David Broder disclosed last week the Democratic party has increasingly become the party of the fat cat while the Republicans now represent the little man. "Final reports on 1965 campaign finances filed today showed the Democratic National Committee increasingly dependent on $1,000 givers, while the Republican National Committee raised most of its money in $10 contributions," he wrote. Broder said that almost 75 per cent of the GOP funds came in gifts of less than $100, while almost 75 per cent of the Democrats' money came in gifts of more than $1,000—the bulk of it from members of the $1,000-a-year President's Club.*

This Week in Washington

Lindsay's First Fumbles

If New York solves the bus and subway strike, it won't be due to freshman Mayor John V. Lindsay, the GOP liberals' 1968 presidential choice. That, anyway, is the contention of city observers who have watched Lindsay flay the air verbally but fail to take any positive action to cure the transportation snafu. One city resident sharply criticized Lindsay in the following letter to *Human Events:*

"The mayor walked four miles to work, I guess to show commuters that there really never had been any use for New York's subways or buses. Not everyone, however, is blessed with Lindsay's excellent health or a strong pair of legs and whether walking will solve the problems of out-of-town and out-of-state commuters is something he obviously hasn't pondered.

"Full of original and bright ideas, Mayor Lindsay then offered this solution to city workers: Don't come to work. How the worker would pay his landlord and feed his family without earning any money was something the mayor didn't explain.

"And if job-holders didn't fancy this suggestion, Lindsay offered them another sparkler: Those who worked in the city should not worry about commuting but take up residence in the city's hotels. Of course rooms rent for $10 a day and upward. No doubt that's Lindsay's anti-poverty plan for poverty-stricken hotel owners.

"Now I see that, in desperation, Lindsay has asked the federal government for funds, probably to pay Quill's Transport Workers Union its outrageous demands."

When it came to facing the real problem—the TWU and its leader Mike Quill, who had called the illegal strike—New York's bold new leader chose to cut and run. (For more on Quill, see page 11.) Asked if he, personally, thought Quill should be locked up after he had violated state and city laws and had torn up a court injunction against the strike, Mayor Lindsay revealed he didn't want to offend the union leader. Quoted in the New York *Times*, he said: "Well, I think sufficient unto the moment is the evil thereof."

Quill was later locked up, but Lindsay, much aware that at least 13 other New York union leaders supported the strike, failed to put his full weight behind cracking down on either Quill or his union. Nor did he advocate new legislation to deal with this or future strikes.

The New York *Herald Tribune* suggested putting fines on the union treasury for each day of the strike, but Mayor Lindsay wouldn't comment.

Subway fares, it was also suggested, should be raised to keep the Transit Authority liquid—but Lindsay evidently feels it is politically safer to ask the federal government for new money rather than raise the fare for his constituents.

Thus the liberals' new hero and presidential candidate.

• Labor trouble is not all that's besetting the new mayor. Lindsay is also coming under fire for hiring one Norman Redlich as executive assistant to the city's chief legal officer, corporation counsel J. Lee Rankin. Both Rankin and Redlich were members of the famous Warren Commission which investigated the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. As chief counsel to the commission, Rankin put Redlich to work as a $100-a-day consultant in spite of the fact that Redlich has belonged to a number of radical organizations.

As late as 1964, Redlich was a member of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC), cited as subversive by both the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security subcommittee (see *Human Events*, April 25, 1964, page 4).

(Interestingly enough, Lindsay himself sent a greeting to the "Bill of Rights" dinner held in New York City on Dec. 10, 1965. It was sponsored by the ECLC.)

Redlich also signed a petition asking the late President Kennedy to extend clemency to Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, two identified Communists imprisoned several years ago for contempt of Congress. In 1962 he lent his name to a statement asking the HCUA to halt a probe of the Communist-infiltrated Women Strike for Peace organization.

New York City employes point out that the office of corporation counsel in 1961 made an investigation of communism and recently obtained an injunction against the pro-Peking Progressive Labor outfit. What, some now want to know, is Redlich doing in his new and powerful city post and why has Lindsay put him there?

NBC's Pink Paper

The National Broadcasting Company's one-hour television special on December 20—"Viet Nam: December 1965"—was another startling case of a TV network putting out propaganda which can only serve Communist ends. The thrust of the program was that the United States has no moral or legal right to defend South Viet Nam. And appearing to buttress this viewpoint were some deep-dyed radicals whose left-wing background was not touched upon by NBC.

Network narrator Frank McGee, moreover, was equally guilty in casting aspersions on our right to be in Viet Nam. Said McGee: "At no time since the Civil War have so many Americans doubted so deeply the justice of their country's cause in war . . . they are a significant minority that includes many thoughtful people who cannot be dismissed as adolescent rebels against all that is mid-20th Century America.

"They are people painfully aware that for the moral arguments advanced by their own country, opposing arguments of *equal* [emphasis added] moral conviction are being advanced by other countries. . . . They are told that our word of honor is at stake. . . . And then the question is raised whether this pledge is more honorable or binding than the earlier one we gave not to disturb by force the agreements that ended the war between France and Viet Nam. . . ."

That the Communists first broke these Geneva Agreements and thus relieved America from any obligation to continue living up to them, apparently escaped McGee's attention. (See *Human Events*, Dec. 25, 1965, pages 8 and 9.)

McGee, without offering a counter-viewpoint, then interviewed Joseph H. Crown, secretary of the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Toward Viet Nam, as an expert witness to explain why the United States has no legal right to defend the free Vietnamese. McGee said Crown's group is "a large committee of responsible lawyers."

What narrator Frank McGee failed to mention, however, was the fact that the honorary chairman of this committee, Robert W. Kenny, has belonged to a long list of Communist fronts, including the National Lawyers Guild. Kenny, in fact, was elected to the Advisory Board of the guild at its national convention in Detroit on Feb. 21-23, 1964.

Joseph H. Crown, himself, has been a member of the guild and is listed in the guild's 1955-56 lawyer referral directory. Indeed, the headquarters of the organization are at 38 Park Row, New York City, also the address of the National Lawyers Guild.

Nor is this all. Appearing on the program to denounce America's presence in Viet Nam were Sanford Gottlieb of SANE and Socialist Norman Thomas. Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. compared America's bombing of North Viet Nam to racist bombings in the Southern United States. Said Mrs. King: "I know what bombings do for an oppressed people, for I have seen oppressed people respond to bombing and violence across the South. . . ."

NBC's Chet Huntley interviewed Frank Emspak, head of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, without once mention-

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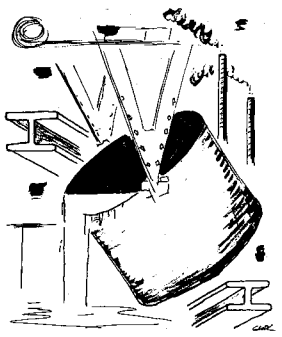
ing that Emspak's late father was a virulent Communist.

McGee ended the program by strongly hinting that the United States should pull out of Viet Nam since, presumably, it is intervening there on very shaky grounds. McGee's closing words were: "Surely this nation is now mature enough to be spared the doubtful arguments and told with more candor why this sacrifice in life and treasure is vital to its survival. If—and permit me to emphasize that if—if a compelling argument cannot be made, even with more candor, then this country should be mindful that our older partners, France and Britain, have found it possible to retire with honor from untenable positions."

So far NBC has refused to repudiate the program.

The Steel Imbroglio

The so-called "steel crisis" last week again revealed the Administration's high-handed methods of dealing with business. Since ascending to the presidency, LBJ has blackjacked the steel, aluminum, banking and copper industries into rolling back prices according to the dictates of his textbook economists, even though the President doesn't have a whit of constitutional authority to set prices. His latest victory over steel was only a partial success, but the style was the same.



The Bethlehem Steel Co. announced on Friday, December 31, that it would raise its price of structural steel products to $5 per ton. Chief Administration price fixer Gardner Ackley, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, did what has become routine for him: He issued an immediate statement calling the price rise "inflationary" and then hinted that Bethlehem was profiteering while American boys were dying in Viet Nam.

Ackley made the charge of inflation, even though structural steel represents only 7 per cent of industry sales. A spokesman for Bethlehem said, moreover, that the 3.5 per cent price increase resulted from "product improvement"—the development of lighter steel which will reduce total construction costs. Inland's increase was similar, while the Colorado Fuel and Iron Corp. raised its price to $3.

The Administration then began to use its full powers to roll back the increase. The Pentagon and the General Services Administration announced they would buy no structural steel from the offending companies. Defense procurement orders were to go to other companies.

As a result, last week the U.S. Steel Corp., which had got caught in the Kennedy bone-crusher in 1962, acted cautiously. Not having yet raised its prices on structural steel, it agreed, reportedly with the Administration's prior approval, to raise them to only $2.75. As a result, Bethlehem, Inland and the other companies agreed to reduce their price hikes to put them in line with U.S. Steel. That, temporarily at least, seemed to satisfy the President.

But as the Washington *Evening Star* noted: "Appropriate efforts to restrain inflation are laudable. But this strategy of government-by-blackmail is the more disturbing and the more galling because of its one-sided nature. When wage demands threatened to break through the so-called guidelines, the President was content to rely on 'appeals.' If they went unheeded, he called it a day. The demands which Mike Quill is making in New York City, if acceded to, would blow the guidelines sky-high. Threats from the President or other Administration officials? The smallest pin could drop unheard in the silence on this score which pervades the White House."

• As a result of the executive-steel industry confrontation, LBJ is now contemplating the creation of a federal board to review price and wages. His chief economic adviser, Dr. Ackley, who served with the Office of Price Stabilization in 1945 and 1946, has viewed with favor a government agency which would set compulsory ceilings on both wages and prices in certain strategic industries and would compel industries operating below capacity to decrease prices.

• Ultra-liberal Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.) will sponsor a bill requiring steel and other basic industries to give the government 60 days notice prior to raising prices.

Wedemeyer Reports

As President Johnson carries on with his "peace offensive," Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer (USA, Ret.) has offered his own trenchant observations about what America should do to help bring the Viet Nam war to a successful close. Wedemeyer, who recently traveled to southeast Asia in an unofficial capacity, is considered an expert on Asia. He served as commander of U.S. forces in the China Theater during World War I and is the author of a famous report to President Truman in 1947, surveying Chinese and Korean affairs and opposing the abandonment of these areas to Communist interests.

Among his suggestions:

(1) Instead of pouring American manpower into Viet Nam, as the Administration has been doing, the United States should make a vigorous effort to get the free Asian countries to replace American soldiers. The Far East has the manpower, we don't. The United States should also begin intensive military training of the soldiers in the free Asian countries. We do some of this now, Gen. Wedemeyer notes, but on a much too narrow scale.

(2) Nationalist China, Japan and Korea should be urged to participate fully in the defense of South Viet Nam. These countries should be invited to join the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), the alliance established to protect the Viet Nam area. "In my view," says Gen. Wedemeyer, "we should have extended an invitation to them to join SEATO when it started. It certainly isn't too late now to bring them in, for they have a stake in the future of Southeast Asia." In his opinion, the Administration has been discouraging, rather than encouraging, such large-scale participation by Asian countries. He also blames the Administration for not persuading our SEATO allies to contribute a "proportionate share" of military and economic aid to South Viet Nam.

(3) The pressure against Ho Chi Minh should be stepped up. There should be no privileged sanctuaries, Gen. Wedemeyer insists, and punishment of their military and industrial facilities should be increased. He calls for a blockade—"a tight ring"—around Haiphong Harbor, the port through which the Communists receive much of their supplies. "When you're fighting an enemy, you must deny him the weapons he uses. But you might even include a spool of thread if it helps him. When we fought the Germans in World War I, we did not defeat them militarily on the battlefield. Their armies were intact and some of their units were still getting food up front. But the people back home weren't getting food and industry wasn't getting raw materials. And that was due to the blockade which brought the war to a conclusion."

1984

The Republican National Committee has charged that the Secret Service interrogation of a Tennessee Valley Authority employe over criticism he leveled at President Johnson "seems to insure every American that 'Big Brother' is watching."

Revealed only last week, the incident referred to involved C. Jack Ferris Jr. of Chattanooga, who claimed he was subjected to an hour's interrogation late in the evening of December 6 because of an anonymous report that he had made some "strong statements" concerning President Johnson.

The Secret Service officer in Nashville confirmed that Ferris had been contacted, but declined any further comment.

Ferris said he recalled describing President Johnson to someone as "tyrannical, dictatorial, domineering and overbearing." Ferris, an honorably discharged Air Force veteran, said the Secret Service agent admitted that he had not made any threat against the President, but only strongly criticized him. The 60-minute quiz, said Ferris, included questions about whether he was a member of the John Birch Society or had called the President a Communist. He denied both. Said Ferris of the whole episode:

"Is this the sort of intimidation that a private citizen should have to put up with? Must we fear knocks on our doors late at night?" Rep. William Brock (R.-Tenn.) has asked for a full explanation of the incident.

CAPITOL CAMERA

• Robert Taft Jr. has announced his candidacy for Ohio's 1st District Congressional seat now occupied by freshman Democrat John J. Gilligan. Taft, who lost a close race for the U.S. Senate in 1964, said that the upcoming elections would determine whether the Congress would be "a mere debating society to endorse executive decisions, or a forum for the voice of a free people." Gilligan, a down-the-line Administration supporter, has been promised all-out labor backing.

TAFT

• *John Grenier, a key organizer in Barry Goldwater's campaign for the presidency, says there is a "better than 50-50 chance" he will seek the Republican nomination for governor of Alabama this year.*

• Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) has denounced a proposal to use federal anti-poverty funds to start a 5-cent weekly newspaper in Washington. Quie said that such a subsidy would "put the federal government directly into the domestic propaganda business, callously disregarding the constitutional guarantee of a free press." A Washington anti-poverty group had requested $150,000 in federal funds to bankroll the newspaper.

QUIE

• *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee charged on January 6 that America's "cry of 'preserve freedom in the world' is a hypocritical mask behind which it squashes liberation movements which are not bound, and refuse to be bound, by the expediencies of the United States' cold war policies." On the same day, however, President Johnson also received pledges of support for a strong policy in Viet Nam from 477,000 students in 322 universities and colleges. The pledges came from representatives of the National Student Committee for the Defense of Viet Nam. Two days later Young Americans for Freedom staged a giant rally in Washington in support of a policy to defend freedom in Viet Nam.*

• In refreshing contrast to the activities of some labor unions, Teddy Gleason's International Longshoremen's Association has joined the U.S. war effort in Viet Nam. Gleason, who also had refused to load wheat bound for Russia, disclosed last week that he and other members of his union had been in Saigon helping unsnarl that city's massive shipping jam. Said Gleason, "If a number of longshoremen are needed out here, a couple of gangs to help show them how to unload ships, the union is prepared to send them out at our expense to do whatever we can for our country." Labor shortages and cramped berthing facilities have slowed the U.S. military buildup in Viet Nam pending the construction of new ports.

GLEASON

• *Correction: In the "Roster of the 89th Congress—2nd Session," which appeared in the Dec. 25, 1965 issue of* Human Events, *Rep. Albert Watson (R.-S.C.) was inadvertently listed as a Democrat. Watson, of course, resigned his seat early last year to run as a Republican and was re-elected by a 2-to-1 margin.*

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Burning Issue in New Congress

Will Unemployment Compensation Be Federalized?

An Administration plan would drastically reduce states' historic role

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Back in 1935, when a system of unemployment compensation first came into being, a presidential Committee on Economic Security laid down the basic concept that Congress was to accept.

"The plan for unemployment compensation that we suggest," said the committee, "contemplates that the states shall have broad freedom to set up the type of unemployment compensation they wish. We believe that all matters in which uniformity is not absolutely essential should be left to the states."

For the past 30 years, this wise public policy has prevailed. In the field of unemployment compensation, the federal government has exerted small control and the states have exercised large discretion. The program has moved forward steadily, as the states repeatedly have increased both the amount of their weekly benefit payments and the number of weeks for which these benefits are paid. The result has been a system tailored to the needs of Mississippi at one extreme, and of Alaska at the other.

Now it is proposed to scrap this basic system almost altogether. Within the next few weeks, the House Ways and Means Committee will get down to serious consideration of the Administration's bill (H.R. 8282). There should be no mistaking what the bill would accomplish.

Though its proponents insist that the state-federal partnership would continue, it would be a partnership of the helpless antelopes and the hungry lion. Every significant requirement henceforth would be prescribed on a national basis. For the first time, the federal government itself would make direct payments of unemployment compensation benefits. The area of permissible state experimentation would dwindle to nothing at all.

These drastic reforms are justified by Administration spokesmen on the familiar and threadbare contention that the states have failed to do their duty. In support of the charge, proponents have drummed up a host of bogus and misleading statistics. Thirty years ago, says the Labor Department, all but two states provided maximum weekly benefits equal to at least half of weekly wages. Today only 16 states provide a maximum weekly benefit payment amounting to 50 per cent or more of average weekly wages.

The implication is that the states have failed—and failed badly—in keeping pace with economic changes in the past three decades. But the statistics are essentially phony. It is meaningless to compare gross average weekly wages of 1935 or 1940 with gross average weekly wages today without taking into account the enormous increase in payroll deductions for income tax and Social Security. A comparison of average take-home pay would show a far different picture.

The proponents' statistics also reflect the high weekly wages of executives, professional workers and workers with long tenure at their jobs. Such employes virtually never turn up on unemployment compensation rolls. A comparison of the average weekly wages of the typical claimants, then and now, would expose the flimsiness of the Labor Department's main exhibit.

An accurate—and highly encouraging—picture of what actually has happened over these past 30 years can be obtained by looking at the increases, not in weekly benefits, but in maximum total benefits.

Have the states failed? Twenty-five years ago, to pick some random samples from 1940, the unemployed man in Alabama could qualify for a maximum of $300 in a benefit-year—$15 a week for 20 weeks. In New York and Pennsylvania, he could qualify for only $195—$15 a week for 13 weeks. In California, the maximum was $468; in North Carolina, $240; in Missouri, which was then on the bottom, $180.

By 1965, these potential benefits had soared to $832 in Alabama, $1,430 in New York, $1,350 in Pennsylvania, $1,690 in California, $1,092 in North Carolina and $1,170 in Missouri. Every state at least doubled its maximum benefit schedule in this period; most states tripled the sum; Utah went from $256 in 1940 to $1,728 in 1965.

By tying average weekly benefits to average weekly gross wages, the pending bill would produce some stunning increases in the payment of unemployment compensation. These increases would have to be paid for: The bill would increase the basic tax rate from .4 to .55 per cent of taxable payroll, and would increase the covered annual wage from the present $3,000 to $6,000 by 1970.

At present, the tax applies only to employers of four or more persons; the bill would extend coverage to every employer who employs even one person for as much as 20 weeks a year. All told, an additional 4.6 million new workers would be brought under the system.

Parts of the bill, dealing especially with enhanced benefits for long-time workers, at high wages, who are idled for many months by automation, doubtless merit sympathetic consideration. But before Congress runs its bulldozer over a working system, now three decades old, a far better case should be made for these drastic changes than the proponents have made so far.

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ARA LARGESS—Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) notes the Area Redevelopment Administration has been required by law to embark upon only those projects that will not "be undertaken without the assistance of a [federal] grant." Nevertheless, the ARA put up $118,000 to finance an industrial plant for the Pueblo Indians of Laguna, N.M. This tribe, Gross says, is one of the wealthiest in the nation, with a substantial annual income and assets of some $9 million.

Viet War Delays Politicians' Decisions; 'March of Poor' on Washington Falls Flat

From the Allen-Scott Report

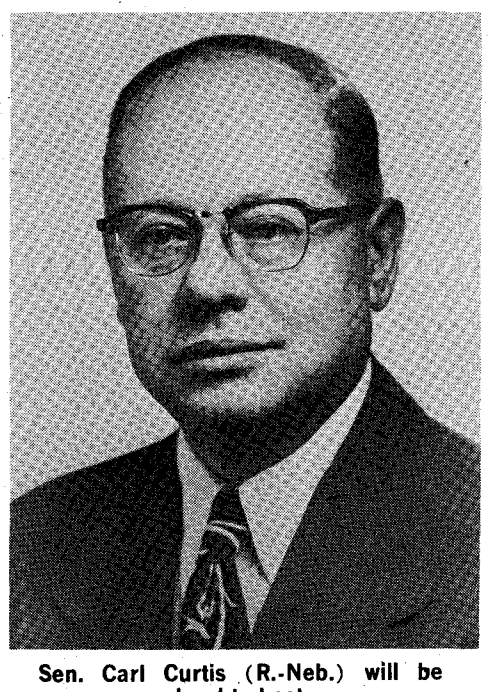
Two Midwestern Democratic governors have a direct personal interest in President Johnson's wide-ranging peace offensive.

The success or failure of this drive may largely determine whether Governors Frank Morrison of Nebraska, and Harold Hughes of Iowa seek reelection or try to unseat incumbent Republican senators.

Both governors are eager to go to the Senate. Morrison, a third-termer, faces seeking an unprecedented fourth term. Hughes would have to run for a third term. That's why both prefer aiming for the Senate.

But both are shrinking from that if the Viet Nam conflict continues. Privately they consider that a major handicap in their Midwestern states.

President Johnson would like Iowa Gov. Harold Hughes, (left), to challenge incumbent GOP Sen. Jack Miller in the Hawkeye State.



Sen. Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.) will be hard to beat.

National Democratic leaders have been vigorously urging Gov. Morrison to run against Republican Sen. Carl Curtis, up for a third term this year, and Gov. Hughes against Sen. Jack Miller, seeking a second term. Both Republican senators are admittedly strong candidates, and would be difficult to beat even without the Vietnamese war issue.

To get first-hand information on the Viet Nam outlook, Morrison is coming to Washington next week and Hughes later in the month. Both will confer with President Johnson.

Democratic National Committee sources are credited as intimating that the President is so eager to have Hughes and Morrison oppose Curtis and Miller that they will be named to the federal bench if they aren't elected.

★ ★ ★

Grandiose plans for a "march of the poor" on Washington have sputtered out.

Lack of money and interest is the apparent cause for the flop.

Planned to coincide with President Johnson's State of the Union message to Congress next week, the demonstration was to dramatize the alleged lack of participation by the poor in the anti-poverty program. Marchers from New York, Syracuse, Newark, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland and other cities were to take part.

A planning session several months ago in Princeton, N.J., was spearheaded by a Chicago group called JOIN, made up largely of representatives from the Appalachia area. JOIN and other groups are splinters from the Students for a Democratic Society, the anti-draft, anti-Viet Nam organization with headquarters in Chicago.

The scheme for the Washington march apparently never got beyond the planning stage. Washington groups which were to be active say they have heard nothing further. A representative of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, sponsored by Walter Reuther, head of the United Auto Workers, indicates that appeals for funds "fell flat."

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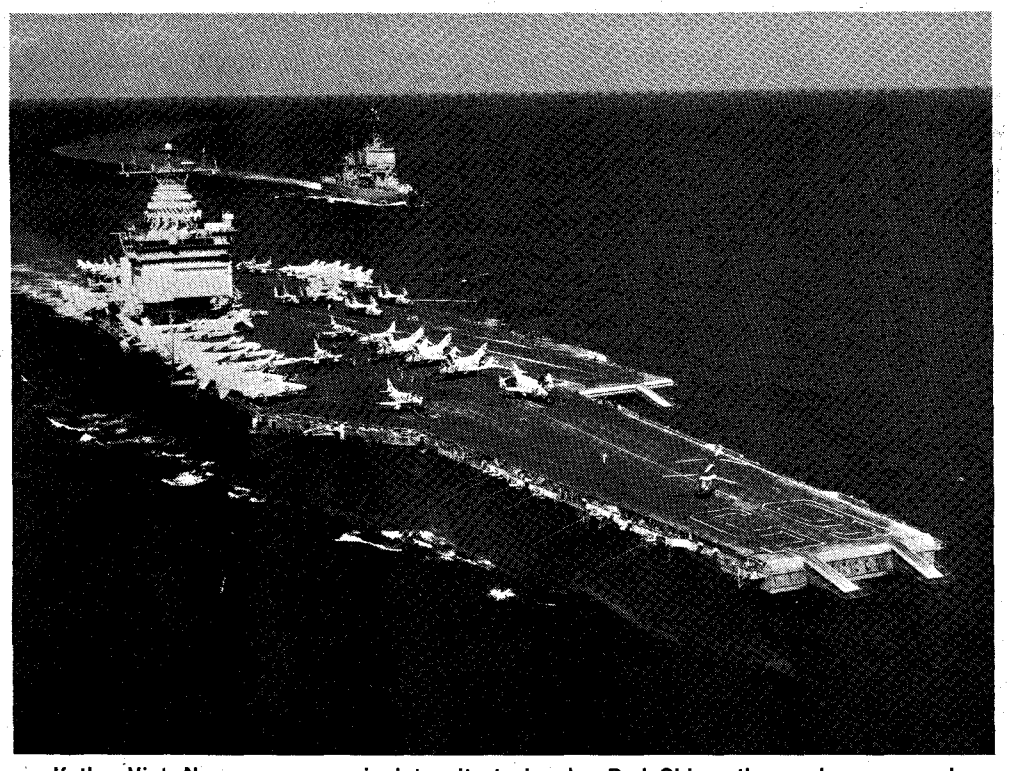

If the Viet Nam war grows in intensity to involve Red China, the nuclear-powered USS Enterprise will be able to launch intensive attacks against Mao Tse-tung's war machine.

In Viet Nam

Total American Involvement Would Doom Communist China

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

The persistent rejoinder of those amateur strategists who oppose decisive U.S. action in Viet Nam is, "Do you want to start a war with Communist China?" As the President intensifies his diplomatic thrust for peace in South Viet Nam, it is timely to answer this question.

The apparent purpose of the current diplomatic offensive is to exhaust the possibilities of a peaceful settlement in Viet Nam. It is reasonable to suppose that President Johnson does not intend to be drawn into the long war of attrition which the Communists want, and that failing this effort of negotiation, he will take measures to end the war.

The United States can do this quickly and with smaller losses than it would incur in a continuing, passive, defensive action; but it has so far refrained from such action out of deference to the voices and hopes of peace through negotiation in this and other countries.

Before loosing the U.S. power to win, President Johnson is giving our allies a last chance to produce meaningful negotiations.

If this appraisal is correct, and if the Communists persist in their conquest of South Viet Nam, we may be on the verge of an "enlargement of the war." What are the possibilities and implications of such a change of strategy?

Our first hope must be that the President is not planning a mere increase of force and intensification of present activity. We have been doing this for five years, and the enemy has raised us every time. This time the President must strike for decisive strategic results.

He should open his new strategy with unannounced, intensive air bombardment of known important Viet Cong bases in Laos and Cambodia. He requires no permission from the governments of those countries for such action; in fact, they could not give such permission without antagonizing Communist China and the Soviet Union.

If he has not already done so, President Johnson should comply with international law by reminding the governments of Cambodia and Laos of their obligation to disarm and intern all Viet Cong forces operating on their territory; and that failing this, South Viet Nam and the United States will be free to attack and destroy such forces at will from the air or on the ground.

In the follow-up, the United States would use its fire power and strategic mobility to destroy the armed forces of North Viet Nam and force the surrender of the Ho Chi Minh government.

Would such military action provoke the entry of Communist Chinese armies into North Viet Nam and Laos? The answer is locked up in the heart and courage of President Johnson.

If, to "avoid further expansion of the war," President Johnson were induced by his advisers and allies to limit American offensive operations to Laos and North Viet Nam, it is a practical certainty that the Chinese Communists would enter the war as they did in Korea. Such terms of warfare would be attractive to them.

But if President Johnson is prepared to extend the war to mainland China, to destroy the Chinese nuclear installations, to unleash the Nationalist Chinese forces and support the restoration of democratic government on the mainland, to reunify Korea—then it is a practical certainty that the Communist Chinese armies will not intervene in the Viet Nam war. Such intervention would mark the end of Communist rule in China.

The Communist powers are reenacting in Viet Nam the scenario of Korea, under circumstances more favorable to their success. If President Johnson has learned from the mistakes of Korea, he will make it clear that intervention in Viet Nam will provoke the destruction of Communist China. Then he can move decisively to secure peace in South Viet Nam, quickly, and at small cost.

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MEDICARE BITE—Social Security taxes jumped sharply January 1 to cover the cost of the Medicare program. An estimated $5.1 billion will be withheld during the program's first year and congressional experts predict the cost will soar as "benefits" are increased and medicine is further socialized.

Will Cambodia Wake Up?

From the Indianapolis *Star*

Left-leaning neutralist Cambodia continues to show just where the heart lies in the Viet Nam conflict.

Continued reports of neutral ships bringing supplies believed to be arms and ammunition for Hanoi into Cambodian ports come from intelligence authorities. This is denied, naturally, by the Prince Norodom Sihanouk's government.

Cambodia has become the Viet Cong's most important supply highway into South Viet Nam, the United States charges. The evidence in the hands of U.S. intelligence agents is that North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops pass through Cambodian territory en route to South Viet Nam. This, too, brings angry denials from the Cambodian government.

Meanwhile, Viet Cong are stealing Viet Nam rice, the principal item in

Cambodia under Prince Norodom Sihanouk has become the Viet Cong's most important supply highway.

the daily diet of 90 per cent of the people. Development of better rice farming methods was America's proudest achievement in its economic aid to South Viet Nam, which began in late 1950 and is continuing at the rate of $800,000 daily.

The rice-growing project was a huge success from an agricultural standpoint. If it were not for the Viet Cong thievery there would be plenty of rice for the South Viet Nam table as well as for export. The thefts are now so rampant that there is a growing rice shortage.

Even more gnawing to the United States is that some of the stolen rice has been shipped through Cambodia to the Asian rice markets, providing badly needed foreign exchange for Hanoi to conduct its war against South Viet Nam. This, too, no doubt will be hotly denied by Cambodia.

In other words, the U.S. taxpayer is getting "taken" twice in the aid program. He is shelling out for the regular aid and then having the fruits of part of the program being stolen to buy ammunition and bullets for the Viet Cong to fire back at South Vietnamese and American defenders.

It seems about time that the State Department read a "riot act" to Cambodia and try to eliminate the dealings that are causing loss of American lives and dollars.

If Cambodia is to continue to be used as a neutralist stepping-off point for the Viet Cong, she should pay the piper.

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NELSON ROCKEFELLER was rocked recently when a New York grand jury indicted his long-time political mentor, L. Judson Morhouse, on charges of conspiracy, bribery and unlawful fees. Morhouse, who pleaded innocent, served Rockefeller as the New York State Republican chairman and as a $17,000 vice chairman of the New York State Thruway Authority. He resigned both posts when the grand jury began probing his affairs in January 1963. Morehouse is charged in the indictment of agreeing to accept a $100,000 bribe to guarantee a liquor license for the Playboy Club in New York. The New York grand jury which indicted Morhouse had earlier indicted Martin C. Epstein, the man Rockefeller named chairman of the State Liquor Authority. Epstein allegedly accepted a $25,000 payoff and has been charged with bribery and tax evasion. Melvin H. Osterman, a Rockefeller-appointed judge, was sentenced to a year in prison in 1964. He pleaded guilty to three counts of conspiracy, admitting that he offered—and Epstein agreed to accept—a $5,000 bribe when the latter was State Liquor Authority chairman.

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JOB CORPS "DISCIPLINE"—John Snyder III, communications manager of the Job Corps Center at Kalamazoo, Mich., explains "discipline" at the camp: "We don't try to order these boys around. Other people have tried to order them around before and it hasn't worked. Let me give you an example. Suppose you want to get them up in the morning to go to class. Well, we don't go around shouting at them that they have to get out of bed. We do it this way. We stick our heads in the door and tell them that they are welcome to attend. We tell them that if they want to imprve themselves they'll go to the class. We don't order them to do anything."

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POVERTY PROBE—Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.) has called for a full-scale probe of the anti-poverty program. In a letter to Sen. Pat McNamara (D.-Mich), chairman of the Select Senate Poverty subcommittee, ultra-liberal Republican Javits wrote: "A highly disquieting furor has grown about a number of aspects of the anti-poverty program. I deeply believe our role of legislative oversight is of great importance, particularly at a time when large expenditures for such domestic programs, no matter how urgently needed, may well be challenged because of the increased military spending for Viet Nam."

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1966: YEAR OF DECISION

Can the 'Great Society' steamroller be stopped?

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1. *In 1964, 71 freshman Democrats were elected to the House, many of them from marginal or usually Republican districts. Without their votes, many major "Great Society" proposals would have failed, including: Appalachian regional development; Medicare; creation of the Housing and Urban Development Department; rent subsidies; expansion of the "anti-poverty" program; and omnibus farm legislation.*
2. *In 1964, 61 House seats went Democratic by only 5 per cent of the vote or less, and one-third of these were won by a margin of 2 per cent or less. Again, many of these liberals were elected in normally conservative areas and can be unseated this year.*

These statistics are cause for apprehension among the liberals. The National Committee for an Effective Congress recently pointed out that many elements of President Johnson's program were carried in the last session by an average of only 35 votes in the House. The NCEC notes that "A shift of a mere 18 votes—just half of the Democrats' net gain in 1964—would have meant the failure of much of the program."

We must—and we can—overcome the liberals' margin of victory! Thus we announce. . . .

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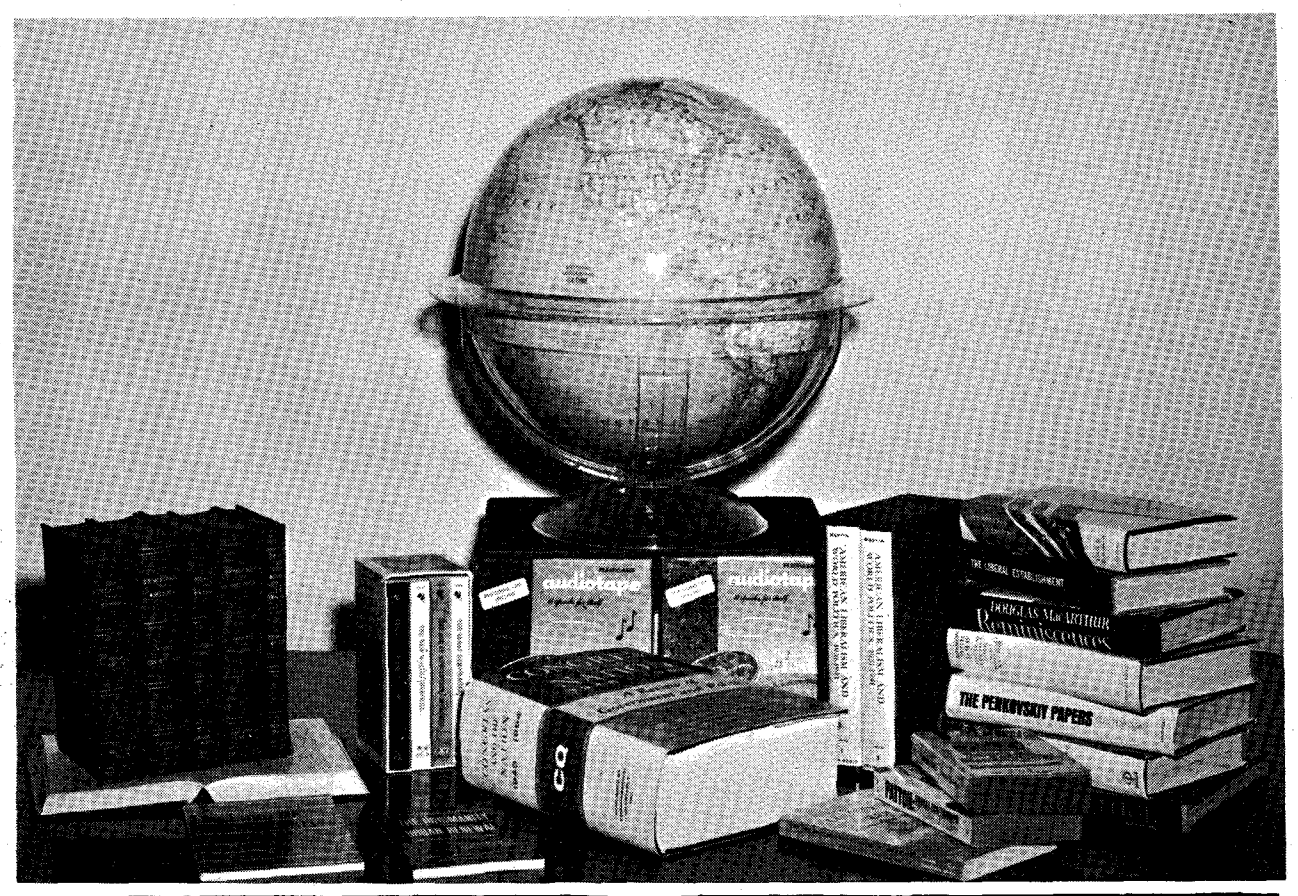

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Assistant GOP Chairman Asks:

What's Happening to the Mail?

Complaints about poor postal service have become increasingly widespread. All over the country citizens are charging that letters and packages are arriving weeks later than usual. One very interesting case with political implications was documented recently by Mrs. Mary Brooks, assistant chairman of the Republican National Committee, in a letter to the postmaster general. This letter was sent Dec. 28, 1965, and made public on December 30. As of January 5, the Post Office had issued no formal reply. Here is the text of Mrs. Brooks' complaint:

The Honorable Lawrence F. O'Brien
The Postmaster General
Post Office Department
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Postmaster General:

Perhaps, as the saying goes, "Neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor gloom of night stays these couriers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds." But even on the clearest autumn days, significant quantities of Republican National Committee mail have been moving at the pace of whatever creature runs second to the snail.

To be very blunt about it, third class mail, dispatched from Washington in a plain envelope, with no clue as to the identity of the sender, generally reaches the addressee in the Midwestern destinations we have tested within three or four days. Somehow, third class mail bearing the return address of the Republican National Committee usually takes from five to 14 days longer to reach the same individual. I am not speaking of one or two or three letters out of a mailing of thousands of pieces.

Almost invariably, on a sampling I personally conducted, the unmarked envelopes arrived well ahead of the Republican National Committee mail. There were a few "ties." . . .

It is difficult to accept, on the basis of pure chance, the fact that there was not one single instance **where a third class piece of mail with a Republican National Committee return reached the addressee** ahead **of the plain envelope, also carrying third class postage, and placed in the mail in Washington at the same hour of the same day.**

May I recite to you in some detail the rather curious chain of circumstances which prompts this letter?

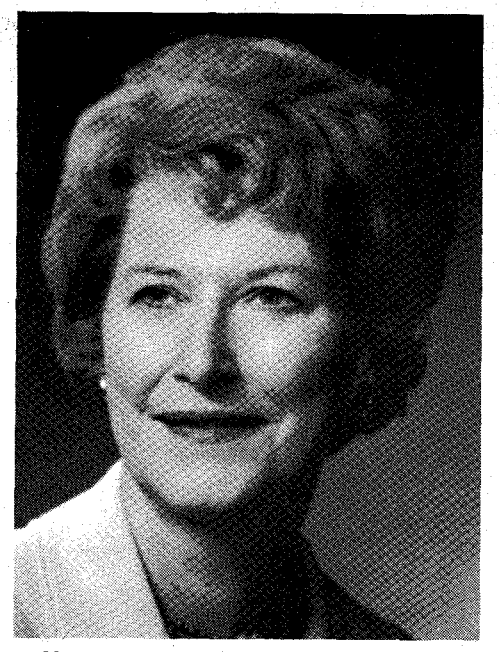
1. [I sent a letter] from Washington on Sept. 30, 1965, to approximately 2,000 Republican precinct committeewomen in Iowa. This called attention to a series of Republican meetings which the State Committee had asked me to attend on October 11-12-13. This mailing went third class for the reason of economy (we practice it!) and in the belief that at a rate of four cents the Post Office Department could somehow deliver a letter less than halfway across the United States within a week or so.

Subsequently, I learned that much of this mail did not reach the 2,000 Iowa Republican precinct committeewomen until the time of the meetings, and in many cases, somewhat later. Postal laws restrain me from expressing some feelings I had but you, as a practicing politician, will certainly understand them.

2. I selected at random, from 50 localities, 50 Iowa Republican precinct committeewomen to whom the September 30 letter had been sent. . . . I advised them they would receive from Washington two third class letters from me —one enclosed in a plain envelope and the other with a Republican National Committee return. I asked that they return both envelopes, noting the date of receipt of each.

Both mailings were posted third class, on Nov. 12, 1965, at exactly the same hour. The 50 envelopes with the Republican return were processed through the Republican National Committee mail room and stamped with the November 12 date on our postage meter. The 50 plain envelopes were dropped in a corner mail box a block from the Republican National Committee headquarters.

3. Of the 50 women included in the sample, 32 replied. Sixteen of those—exactly one-half—reported it took from five to 14 days longer for the Republican National Committee envelope to reach them than it did for the plain one. Three others reported "ties"—receipt of both on the same day. Two reported



Mrs. Mary Brooks made an interesting test of mail delivery times.

lags of one and three days, respectively —with the plain envelope in hand first. The other responses indicated one letter received, but not the other, at the time of reply or were unclear as to date of receipt.

I would emphasize, however, that in no instance where a correspondent received both letters did she indicate that the Republican National Committee envelope was delivered first. Sheer coincidence? I can't believe it. Purely circumstantial evidence? Yes. But conclusive circumstantial evidence.

4. As you undoubtedly know better than any man in the country, public criticism of poorer and slower postal service is mounting even faster than postal rates. If the mailings I have mentioned here had been done during the Christmas rush, some of the delay might be attributed to that, although even this would not explain why a plain envelope has apparent priority over one with a Republican return. Moreover, what is involved here is not the so-called junk mail. We paid four cents a copy to move this third class mail. In return, should we not have reasonably expected it would be delivered through post offices only a few hundred miles away in far shorter time than 10 days, two weeks, or even longer?

5. [Attached] to this letter is a list of delivery rates at 21 Iowa post offices through which the addressee received the plain envelope first or (three instances) where both pieces were delivered on the same date. All of the correspondence, including the envelopes returned to me, is available for the inspection of your department at my office here in Washington.

6. I wish to say emphatically the facts set forth here should not be construed as a charge that the Post Office Department is engaged in a gigantic conspiracy to impede the flow of Republican party mail. I have the highest respect for the integrity of the department and for the dedicated career employes who often perform services above and beyond the call of duty. But I am suggesting that somewhere in the operation there would seem to be a handful of over-zealous individuals whose personal political feelings are interfering with the performance of their assigned duties.

7. As you know from your own experience, political parties rely heavily upon mail service as a means of reaching people. Denial of its effective use to one party, especially at the height of a campaign, would make a mockery of the American political system. But if political mail can be held up for a week or two, it could be held up for a month or two. I know you are as concerned as I am with any threat to free elections.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Brooks
Assistant Chairman

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From Protests to Production

How self-help works in New York City

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

My friend George Schuyler, the Negro columnist, has been carrying on a campaign for years to get Negroes to start their own banks, real estate projects and general businesses.

He keeps pointing to the potential investment money earned by the Negro "talented tenth" in the arts and entertainment world, which surely adds up to a bigger chunk than anything possessed by the Irish, the Jews and the Italians when they started climbing out of south Boston or New York's lower East Side. But any time this column mentions George's ideas, letters come to it which scornfully bring up the scarecrow of "Uncle Tom."

To anyone who knows George Schuyler for the tough man that he is, this is a laugh. But there is a serious side to it, too. For the minute any group, ethnic or otherwise, begins to scoff at the idea of self-help, the handwriting is on the wall. The alternative to self-help is dependence, and dependence is a form of slavery.

Fortunately, there are many, many Negroes who do not go for the idea that it is old-fashioned to speak of self-help. They prefer the dignity of loans to the charity of grants.

I have just learned of something called the Interfaith Health Association, a predominantly Negro group which has been formed in the borough of Queens in New York City to lease or buy buildings that have been closed by the authorities because of physical building code violations.

Following the Jane Jacobs theory (see the book titled *The Life and Death of Great American Cities*) that rehabilitation without tenant relocation is far less personally disruptive than recourse to the urban renewal bulldozer, the Interfaith Health Association has already won a small victory in its campaign to eradicate both slums and slum psychology.

The Interfaith group, whose slogan is "From Protest to Production to Partnership," began its three-year-old campaign "to meet the needs of Negroes without chronic dependence on welfare measures" by buying an abandoned hospital plant in the Jamaica section of Queens. With 528 volunteer workers pitching in, the IHA removed some 140 state hospital code violations in the building, thereby creating a new plant that met official inspection standards.

The hospital, incidentally, is located in an upper-middle-class white community. It employs both white and Negro doctors and takes patients without regard to color or creed.

The boast of the Interfaith group is that this bit of hospital rehabilitation achieves "a true rather than paternalistic integration." It also means that Negroes are "contributing to, not just using, community resources."

With its hospital success behind it, the Interfaith Health Association has taken an entire city block of two-story buildings in Hollis, Queens, and brought a hundred rental units back from slum status to something worth living in. And, in cooperation with the Department of Real Estate in New York City, it has leased six city-owned buildings in Harlem which had been seized for non-payment of taxes. The six buildings, which hold 65 tenants, are being rehabilitated by IHA without dislocating anyone.

Another Interfaith project is a school for building superintendents.

Thus "self-help" makes a beginning at transforming slums. At the other end of the scale there are the endowment drives for the private Negro colleges. Dr. Jerome Holland, the president of Hampton Institute in Virginia, who used to play a mighty effective end for Cornell in the Ivy League, is staging a big drive for his Hampton Centennial Fund. Hampton, incidentally, is open to all races, another example of "true rather than paternalistic integration."

True enough, self-help may light only a small candle in a world of immense need. But "government" can't do everything, and there is no sense in dismissing the self-help idea as something out of the book of "Uncle Tom."

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As this issue goes to press, a subway and bus strike is all but paralyzing New York City. Millions of commuters and residents are without transportation because of the arrogance of one man: Michael J. Quill, president of the 35,000-member Transport Workers Union. After violating a court order in calling his men out on strike, Quill was jailed for contempt but fell ill and is now in the hospital.

What kind of man is this? What motivates this dangerous demagogue? Because these and similar questions are being asked not only in New York but around the nation, **Human Events** reprints below extensive excerpts from an article by William Schulz which originally appeared in our issue of April 3, 1963.

The present strike vividly illustrates the fact that Mike has not softened his ultra-liberalism in the intervening years. His demands this year go far beyond anything he has previously sought.

Among the 76 concessions he originally asked the city for included: a 30 per cent wage increase that the Transit Authority estimates will cost the city $680 million (Quill's TWU members, at an average salary of $3.13 an hour, are already the highest paid rapid transit workers in the country); a reduction in the work week to four days and 32 hours from the present 40-hour week; six-week annual vacations; three additional holidays; and retirement at half-pay after 25 years of service. The fact that New York City is already almost bankrupt seems not to matter to him at all.

The proposed repeal of the right-to-work section (14b) of the Taft-Hartley Act will be a very hot topic in the newly convened Congress. Rather than weakening this law, as President Johnson and his liberal followers would have the Senate do, many labor experts now feel Congress should diligently investigate what steps can be taken to strengthen Taft-Hartley. As Mr. Schulz shows in the article below, Mike Quill is not just a problem for New York, but a danger to the nation.

Mike Quill—Labor Boss

By WILLIAM SCHULZ

On the September weekend in 1960 that John Fitzgerald Kennedy proclaimed his goals to be those of organized labor, a florid-faced, shiny-topped Irishman racked up a first of dubious distinction.

Michael Joseph Quill, who looks like Mr. Clean gone to pot, shut down the mighty Pennsylvania Railroad for the first time in its history.

Seventy-two thousand employes found themselves jobless. Factories along its 100,000 miles of track closed down. One hundred and thirty-six thousand travelers were stranded on the strike's very first day.

And Mike Quill, stormy president of the Transport Workers Union, had once again demonstrated why he is recognized as one of the most powerful men in America.

Little more than a year later, Quill, who brandishes the strike as his Gaelic forebears did the shillelagh, pulled a familiar stunt. He struck the Fifth Avenue Coach Lines and hundreds of thousands of New York residents walked to work.

By early 1963, Quill had turned his attention to Philadelphia and, almost by force of habit, shut down the Philadelphia Transit Co. "Arrogant and irresponsible labor leadership," said the Philadelphia Inquirer, **"has once again victimized the public."**

Quill shrugged off the words of condemnation. They meant little or nothing to a man who has been under fire since 1919 when, with seven brothers and three sisters, he joined the Irish Republican Army.

Quill broke his hip eluding the Black and Tans. He still limps and carries the blackthorn stick he had when he came ashore in New York Harbor on St. Patrick's Day, 1926.

It took several years for Quill to find his calling. He helped dig the Eighth Avenue subway, then made change in the Jackson Avenue change booth. He sold religious objects in the coal fields of Pennsylvania and killed cockroaches for the Shanghai Disinfecting Co. of New York.

In 1934, after the bankrupt IRT subway went into receivership, Quill helped form the Transport Workers Union to press for higher wages. "The TWU," later wrote the New York *Times* A.H. Raskin, "didn't get off the ground until the Communist party sent an emissary to Quill in March 1934, and invited him to join forces with the Communist-controlled Trade Union Unity League."

That Quill did. For more than a decade he played the Communist game. "Baboon or not," *Newsweek* wrote in 1946, "Quill has, year in and year out, swung with apelike dexterity along the double reversible Communist party line."

Careful never to lose an Irish brogue as thick as fog, Quill built his union, whose membership was almost completely Irish, into a potent political force.

He won election in 1939 to the New York City Council, lost in 1941 because he would not repudiate the Hitler-Stalin pact, then went back on in 1943 when Uncle Sam and Uncle Joe were dedicated allies.

Before his union was 10 years old, Quill had struck fear into the hearts of New York strap-hangers. A crippling bus strike in 1941 drew heavy fire (a "tragic mistake") from Mayor LaGuardia, no mossback reactionary.

The New York *Daily News* suggested the work stoppage was a Communist operation, designed "to paralyze the place and create chaos so that a well-organized knot of Reds can step in and take over."

By the early 1940s Quill was the subject of a searching investigation by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. The committee heard Thomas O'Shea, a confessed ex-Communist. Said its report:

"Thomas O'Shea testified he personally knew Quill to be a member of the Communist party. He testified that he had been a member of the Communist party, having joined the TWU at the time it was being formed. According to O'Shea, he was appointed president of the union by the Communist party and was not elected by the membership.

"O'Shea testified that he had been asked to step out of the presidency of the union by the Communist party in order that Quill might be elected in his place. Quill was unopposed for office at the time of his election in 1935."

John J. Murphy declared under oath that he sat in Unit 19 meetings of the Communist party with Quill. Another witness, Edward Maguire, testified that he received party dues from Quill. Still another, Michael Kelly, said that Quill asked him to join the party. Michael McCarthy testified that Quill solicited him for membership in the Communist party.

Quill brushed off the investigation as a smear. He continued, however, to perform yeoman service for the party. He lectured at the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York City, an institution later called subversive by the attorney general. He served on the national council of the notorious American Peace Mobilization.

His Communist front activities were legion. A committee of the California State Senate in 1948 disclosed him to have been affiliated with the following fronts: The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; the Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War.

Also, the Civil Rights Congress; American League for Peace and Democracy; Workers Alliance; Jewish People's Fraternal Order; Non-Sectarian Committee for Political Refugees; Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee; League for Protection of Minority Rights; American Friends of the Mexican People; Progressive Women's Council.

Attacks upon Quill for his crimson politics stepped up. Norman Thomas was blistering in his denunciation of one who practiced slavish adherence to the policies of that "brutal, Machiavellian dictator, Josef Stalin."

The *Commonweal,* a liberal publication of Catholic laymen, called Quill reckless, irresponsible and stupid, charged that he was a Communist tool.

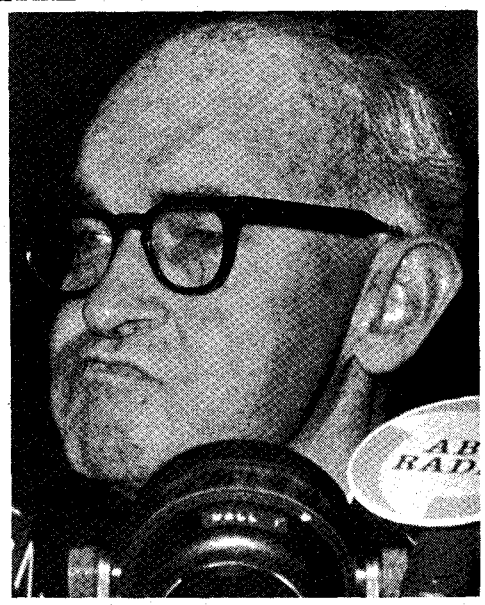
Quill began to see dissension within his own union. There were complaints about Harry Sacher, a Communist-line counsel, and Douglas MacMahon, an avowed Communist who served as the union's secretary-treasurer. The Justice Department opened proceedings to deport John Santo, TWU organizational director.

In March 1948, Quill strode across the stage in Manhattan Center to address a mass meeting of his union's membership. At the climax of his speech, he seized a copy of the *Daily Worker,* raised hands overhead, tore it to shreds, and roared defiantly:

"That's what I think of them."

A year earlier Quill had invited Paul Robeson, Vito Marcantonio and Irving Potash to address the TWU convention. Now, he vowed war upon the Communists.

He told his members that Communist officials had demanded that he take his union out of the CIO, form a new labor federation, and back Henry Agard Wallace for President. Only months before, Quill had called Wallace "the one, independent voice for peace and security." Now he labeled his candidacy a dangerous threat.



Before his arrest, Mike Quill said, "The judge can drop dead in his black robes. We will not stop the strike."

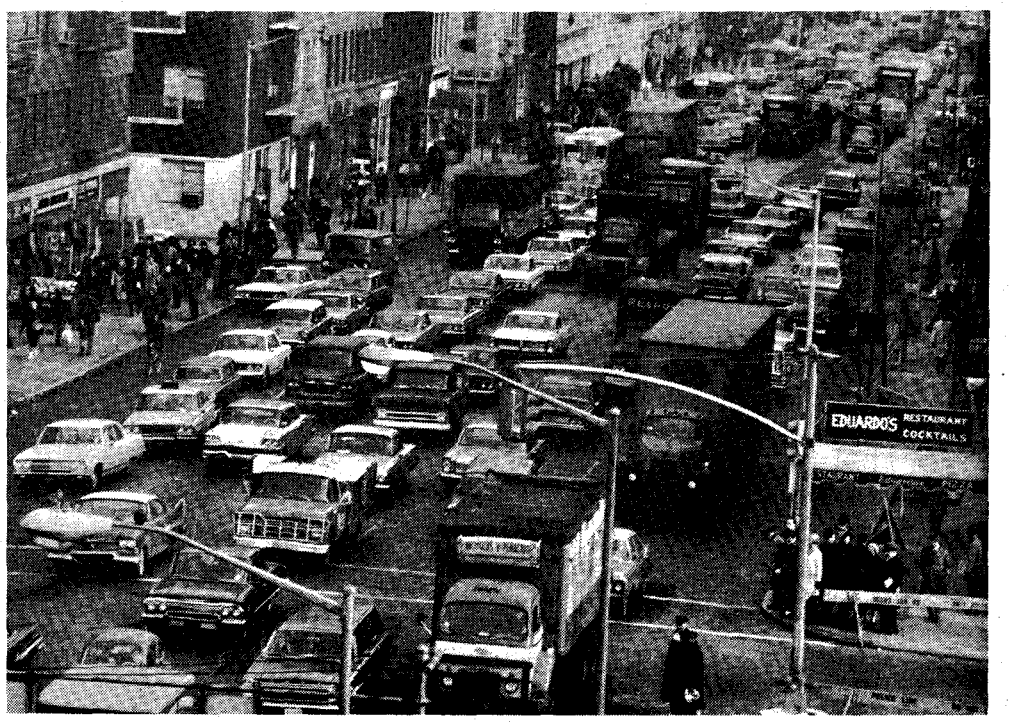
Quill's break with the Communists fooled few knowledgeable observers. Wrote Raskin in the Times: **"Quill needed no Gallup poll to know which way his predominantly Catholic membership would go if it had to choose between the Communists and the CIO."**

A factional foe, John Brooks, put it much the same way: "Mike doesn't like being lonely."

There was still another reason for Quill's break. A long succession of union-generated wage increases had signalled the death knell for New York's five-cent fare. The Communist party, posing as the workingman's friend, turned on Quill, whom it dubbed "Mike the Dime." He found himself, for the first time, attacked in the *Daily Worker.*

A report to the Communist party convention later in 1948, however, attempted to set the record straight. Delivered by Henry Winston, who would

(Continued on page 15)



New York City, seldom a driving festival to begin with, has experienced its worst traffic jams in history while negotiations between the Transit Authority and Quill's TWU drag on.

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Time To Slam The Book On 'Em

Courtesy Nashville *Banner*

Will the Logan Act Be Enforced?

From the Nashville *Banner*

The Logan Act is on the statute books to prevent errand boys of mischief from engaging in freelance "diplomatic" missions on the international circuit; expressly forbidding private citizens to attempt negotiations with heads of foreign governments.

It is a federal security law, and its deliberate violation by Herbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd and Thomas Hayden—trouble-making trio now reported to be "conferring" with the Viet Cong in Hanoi—calls for the full weight of that law's enforcement the moment they set foot again on U.S. soil.

• Aptheker is the self-admitted leader of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

• Lynd is a Yale University professor who has participated strenuously in on-campus and off-campus activities of the anti-policy brigade.

• Hayden is a founder of the Students for a Democratic Society, aimed at undermining home front unity behind the war in which America now is engaged.

The right of free speech, or of policy dissent short of sedition or treason, is not in dispute. The exercise of that prerogative does not extend, however, to breaking the law; one clear provision of which, beyond misinterpretation, forbids the errand on which in total defiance they embarked.

Scofflaws, of course, do not care about that. Wrecking crews hold in contempt any statute with which they disagree. As trouble-makers with an ideological ax to grind, they choose to grind it with a flourish, disbelieving—on the record—that penalty will attach to that.

Somehow they got passports for a journey that was to take them to Hanoi via Brussels, Prague, Moscow and Peking. Did any checking transpire to ascertain their itinerary?

Back in the summer when Dr. Martin Luther King was threatening to take a personal hand in this foreign policy field and visit Hanoi to urge Ho Chi to the conference table—somebody reminded him that there *is* a Logan Act, enacted by Congress as a law meaning what it says. Dr. King obviously attached considerable weight to that Nobel "Peace" Prize he had received, but was not totally unrestrained on the mission contemplated. It didn't materialize.

Herbert Aptheker is a dedicated Communist and it isn't difficult to visualize any format of "peace" or negotiations he would advocate; or the purpose of his mission cleared with the Viet Cong in a conference at Helsinki. He assuredly isn't seeking a talkfest in behalf of a settlement in the United States' favor—or the free world's as such.

This trio has violated a federal security law; not just a ban on travel to an enemy land, but the statute expressly forbidding negotiations with that government.

The moment they land on the return they obviously anticipate, U.S. authorities should be waiting for them, for instant arrest and speedy arraignment on the charge their law-breaking warrants.

The Logan Act was put on the books for enforcement. *Enforce it.*

The Truth About Johnson's Heralded Employment 'Cuts'

By BARRY GOLDWATER

President Johnson's announcement that he will eliminate 25,000 government jobs is unadulterated political showmanship and double-talk that may cost taxpayers a good deal more in the long run than it saves them. It is another perfect example of Lyndon Johnson's "light-bulb" economies at work.

You probably remember when the President made political hay by supposedly turning out the White House lights to save money. As a gesture it was meaningless, for the government's electricity bill has just jumped by a million dollars. But the illusion of President Johnson as a money saver persists.

The employment figures show the same hocus-pocus approach, the same vast difference between campaign-style oratory regarding concern for tax dollars and the truth of government spending.

Mr. Johnson's latest announcement was widely heralded as a deep cut of federal employment. The 25,000 jobs would be a deeper cut in one hunk than the total of job elimination in the past three years.

But the truth is somewhat different from the headlines. In the first place, the 25,000 jobs will not be cut in the ordinary sense of the word. They just won't be filled when the present occupants retire this month to take advantage of a bonus provision in the 1965 Government Employes Retirement Act.

The fact that these 25,000 retiring employes will get a bonus is just one of the reasons that the job cut will not be quite the dollar-and-cents boon it might appear. And this is more important: the jobs supposedly eliminated may be filled again by "contract" workers who do not show up on the payroll as regular employes, but rather as "expense" items.

Several federal employe unions have openly discussed the possibility that these "eliminated" jobs will be refilled in that manner and that it will cost millions of extra dollars in the long run. The president of the national Federation of Federal Employes has been quoted as saying that the job cut "represents simply a new version of [the Administration's] numbers game policy."

Beyond that, what are the facts of government employment under the supposedly sharp eyes of Lyndon Johnson?

It is true that average employment has fallen over the past few years. But to listen to the Administration's publicists, you would think it had virtually plummeted. The truth is not quite so dramatic.

In fiscal 1963 there were an average of 2,493,374 persons on the federal executive, civilian payroll—the President's payroll, so to speak. In fiscal 1964 there was an average employment of 2,488,-365, and in fiscal 1965 the average rate was 2,479,489.

The dramatic cuts, therefore, actually came to just under 9,000 persons between 1964-65 and only 5,-000 between 1963-64, hardly cause to crown Lyndon Johnson as the all-time champion of economy in government hiring.

But personnel figures do not tell the entire payroll story.

The cost of the presidential payroll has been soaring: in fiscal 1963 the figure was $15.3 billion; in 1964 it jumped to $16.2 billion, and in the last fiscal year it zoomed to $17.2 billion.

Think that's bad? Well, here's the kicker. As Mr. Johnson spoke of the job cut, the latest figures for federal executive employment showed 2,528,-696 persons on the payroll, a flat increase of 58,366 jobs over the same period last year.

(Copyright 1966, Los Angeles *Times*)

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Dead Americans

From the London *Economist*

Those pictures from the Ia Drang Valley ought to jog the British mind. The American bodies dotted about the jungle clearings are a token of the reversal of roles that has taken place between Britain and America in the last 25 years. The Americans are now doing for Britain (and for the rest of the Western world) what the British did for the United States in 1940. They are holding the front line for us.

The pictures of Americans killed in Viet Nam should stir in British minds exactly the same thought as we hoped would be stirred in American minds by the pictures of British dead in the Western desert and London streets in 1940.

They are dying while we still struggle to realize that this is a necessary war in which our interests are involved as much as theirs.

It took the Americans in 1940 another year to catch the point properly. The British in 1965, slow as ever to come to terms with unpleasant reality, are still struggling.

□ □ □

THE WHITE HOUSE, normally reticent on the subject of mail to the President and other officials, revealed that voters aren't too happy with LBJ's efforts to help Britain topple Ian Smith's newly independent Rhodesia. One Administration spokesman contended the mail reflected a "white supremacy" attitude from writers opposed to civil rights legislation. However, there was no mention from these White House spokesmen about Britain's trading with North Viet Nam and Cuba, which accounts for much of the concern about the Rhodesian situation.

□ □ □

SEN. JOSEPH CLARK (D.-Pa.) attached his signature to a fund-raising appeal for the Americans for Democratic Action immediately after a special "program" was put out by the ADA calling for the following policy toward Viet Nam: "1. a cessation of American air strikes on North Viet Nam; 2. discussions with all interested parties, including the Viet Cong; 3. utilization of all mediating agencies to bring the war to the conference table; 4. an announced willingness to cease fire and take mutual steps with the North Vietnamese for troop reduction and a lessening of arms and material; and 5. a willingness to return to the principles of the Geneva accords and/or accept a coalition government including the Viet Cong."

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A Tired American Speaks Out

By ALAN McINTOSH in the *Rock County Herald*, Laverne, Minn.

I am a tired American.

I'm tired of being called the ugly American.

I'm tired of having the world panhandlers use my country as a whipping boy 365 days a year.

I am a tired American—weary of having American embassies and information centers stoned, burned and sacked by mobs operating under orders from dictators who preach peace and breed conflict.

I am a tired American—weary of being lectured by Gen. de Gaulle (who never won a battle) who poses as a second Jehovah in righteousness and wisdom.

I am a tired American—weary of Nasser and all the other blood-sucking leeches who bleed Uncle Sam white and who kick him on the shins and yank his beard if the flow falters.

I am a tired American—weary of the beatniks who say they should have the right to determine what laws of the land they are willing to obey.

I am a tired American—fed up with the mobs of scabby faced, long-haired girls who claim they represent the "new wave" of America and who sneer at the old-fashioned virtures of honesty, integrity, and morality on which America grew to greatness.

I am a tired American—weary unto death of having my tax dollars go to dictators who play both sides against the middle with threats of what will happen if we cut the golden stream of dollars.

I am a tired American—who is tired of supporting families who haven't known any other source of income other than government relief checks for three generations.

I am a tired American—who is getting madder by the minute at the filth peddlers who have launched Americans in an obscenity race—who try to foist on us the belief that filth is an integral part of culture—in the arts, the movies, literature, the stage.

I am a tired American—weary of the bearded bums who tramp the picket lines and the sit-ins—who prefer Chinese communism to capitalism—who see no evil in Castro, but sneer at President Johnson as a threat to peace.

I am a tired American—who has lost all patience with that civil rights group which is showing propaganda movies on college campuses from coast to coast. Movies denouncing the United States. Movies made in Communist China.

I am a tired American—who is angered by the self-righteous breastbeater critics of America, at home and abroad, who set impossible yardsticks for the United States but never apply the same standards to the French, the British, the Russians, the Chinese.

I am a tired American – sickened by the slackjawed bigots who wrap themselves in bedsheets in the dead of night and roam the countryside looking for innocent victims.

I am a tired American who resents those who try to peddle the belief in schools and colleges that capitalism is a dirty word and that free enterprise and private initiative are only synonyms for greed.

They say they hate capitalism, but they are always right at the head of the line, demanding their share of the American way of life.

I am a tired American—real tired of those who are trying to sell me the belief that America is not the greatest nation in all the world—a generous hearted nation—a nation dedicated to the policy of trying to help the "have nots" achieve some of the good things that our system of free enterprise brought about.

I am an American who gets a lump in his throat when he hears the *Star Spangled Banner* and who holds back tears when he hears those chilling high notes of the brassy trumpets when Old Glory reaches the top of the flagpole.

I am a tired American who thanks a merciful Lord that he was so lucky to be born an American citizen—a nation under God, with truly mercy and justice for all.

□ □ □

Capitalism, *Si!*

From the Dallas *Morning News*

Reports from Latin America indicate that Sears, Roebuck & Co. is outstripping Marx, Lenin & Co. in the market place. No Communist riot south of the border is complete without at least a token attack on the Sears store, which is used by the Reds as a symbol of Yankee robber-baron imperialism. Yet the Sears stores, a little scorched and scratched perhaps, continue to do a booming business.

Employes of Sears stores in Latin America are being exposed firsthand to the other side of free enterprise. This involves owning stock in the company, and in Venezuela employes will own 17.5 per cent of the chain's 12 stores there by the end of 1965.

The federal government's aid programs have sometimes attempted to educate foreigners in the American way of life, but with limited success. Communists have twisted and distorted the aims of these programs, constantly harping that in socialism the people own everything.

Well, Venezuelans are owning more and more of their Sears stores every year, and through this laboratory experiment are learning a lesson that riots and diatribes cannot combat: Cash spends a lot better than hero medals.

Viewing Bracero Ban in Light of Crop Losses

By CASPAR W. WEINBERGER

Reprinted with permission of the Los Angeles *Times*

With the first harvest season in which the state and federal government deliberately curtailed the most available and trained source of harvest labor behind us, the time has come to weigh the conflicting claims of growers and governments and to look at the future.

The federal government, which at the behest of organized labor allowed legislation authorizing the importation of Mexican bracero farm workers to lapse last year, says everything went so beautifully in California in 1965 that, as Labor Secretary Wirtz put it, "I can see no need for braceros in 1966."

The growers, on the other hand, point out that with great good luck, four factors came together in the critical year 1965, and because of this luck, catastrophic crop losses were prevented.

The four factors were "the unusually good weather," the unquestioned ingenuity of California's farmers, increased mechanization forced by the termination of the bracero program, and finally, and this is something the federal government seems to overlook, the fact that 22,500 braceros were reluctantly allowed to come into the state to save some of the crops at last.

Labor Secretary Wirtz, who starts with the idea that there is some inherent evil in the importation of foreign workers to fill the gap caused by the fact that there simply are not enough domestic workers to harvest California's crops, conveniently overlooks the individual losses suffered by growers of such crops as strawberries and asparagus when he speaks of the good, over-all results of the year.

Estimates of losses in the strawberry crop varied from about $5 million to $8 million, or approximately 15 per cent of the whole crop of the state. This loss was suffered simply because the federal government took the doctrinaire position that foreign farm labor should not be allowed in the state, and that somehow domestic labor, which had never previously been available, would be found to harvest the crop.

In addition, more than $1.5 million was lost by the asparagus growers for the same reason—there was no labor available to pick the crops that had been grown.

In addition to these crops, the tomato growers were saved from the brink of disaster only because braceros were admitted to pick the tomato crop.

Furthermore, these are simply the figures of the losses actually suffered. No one has attempted to estimate the loss incurred for many growers who did not even plant asparagus or tomatoes because of their justified fears that there would not be enough labor to harvest the crops.

It is rare in the history of government that a policy so deliberately opposed to the facts of agricultural life and to the necessities of the situation has been so rigidly insisted upon.

For years the so-called "liberal dogma" has been that braceros are bad, and it now apparently makes no difference how many losses are suffered, or how difficult it is to grow crops.

As for next year, most farmers will do their best to avoid the long-continued, desperate pleas for more braceros and the last-minute decisions of Mr. Wirtz to allow in some, but not enough braceros, and usually not in time.

Clearly too, next year growers will turn to crops that can use already-developed mechanization, or which generally require less hand-harvesting.

Certainly if there is a change in the phenomenally favorable weather conditions experienced this year, there will be more and bigger losses in many crops, but it is doubtful if any of this will make any difference now that it is clearly the policy of the federal government that Mexican workers can no longer be tolerated.

Braceros like these will not be needed in 1966, according to Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, but he overlooks the California crop losses which resulted from the ban and were alleviated only by unseasonably good weather and some last-minute importation of braceros.

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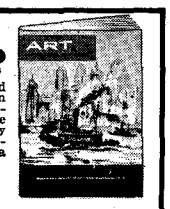

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Book Review

'The Challenge of Conservatism'

Reviewed by JACK WILLIAMS on Radio Station KOY, Phoenix, Ariz.

After reading the book by Paul Sexson and Stephen B. Miles Jr., titled *The Challenge of Conservatism*, I realized we have now "come 'round the full circle."

Once the liberal writers dared to write like this. And the conservative writers (if there were any) did not. I interpolate

'The Challenge of Conservatism'
By Paul A. Sexson and Stephen B. Miles Jr.

Hardcover Edition—$4
Exposition Press
386 Park Ave. So.
N.Y., N.Y. 10016
Paperback Edition—80¢
Conservative Publishing Co.
1830 No. Central Ave.
Phoenix, Ariz. 85004

(if there were any) because there was no market for their writings, no market for their ideas, no market for conservatism. The outstanding fact of American political life today is the resurgence of conservatism. With this statement, hardly anyone dare quarrel now. And this sentence is the opening one in this book.

The closing paragraph of the book is particularly apropos because one of the authors, Paul Sexson, was secretary to the late Herbert Hoover. When he was writing his book, *The Challenge to Liberty*, Mr. Hoover said to him: "When there is a head-on collision between these two philosophies of government (conservatism and liberalism), there will be no doubt about how the American people will vote." Unquote!

Having read a great number of liberal books in the heyday of their circulation, *An Affluent Society, Organization Man, Rendezvous with Destiny,* and many others whose names came not too readily to mind, I am accustomed to liberal assumptions.

But in *The Challenge of Conservatism* we have a conservative book blithely using the same exciting technique. For example—no equivocation, no blush, no tentative clearing of the throat. The authors simply say as they open Chapter Nine:

"The liberal believes the world owes him a living. He believes he can eat his cake and have it too. He believes that actions and motives can be adequately described in words. He believes that by spending money we really save it. He believes in making agreements with Communist countries, even though he doesn't trust them to keep agreements. He believes that man, who is made to fight for what he wants and for what he believes is right, can be impartial and 'neutralist.' He believes non-military men are usually better judges of military requirements than military men. There is in fact no end to these beliefs." All of them, we might add, the authors write, result from his denying the mainstem of conservative belief, that man is utterly dependent on God, from which springs the entire philosophy of conservatism."

Isn't that enough to make a liberal grind his teeth?

This is not one of those tedious books. It's a delightful book, filled with provocative ideas, all expressed almost in the form of aphorisms; and some of them suddenly quite true. For example, here's a quote that the most hardened liberal cannot deny. "Conservatism has, in the last few years, become a household term. Books on conservatism coming off the presses in a steady stream become best sellers. Articles on conservatism are starting to appear in magazines and periodicals. Liberals are being thrown back on the defensive for the first time in a generation."

Now here is one of those aphorisms that ring with such obvious sincerity. "The United States is witnessing a revulsion against immorality. Since conservatives contend that society is built on morality and principle, while liberals say it is built on reason, increasing preoccupation with moral problems is a sign of conservative revival."

Here's a book that says bluntly: "After 30 years of inflation, our economy today is a bubble that has been blown to its fullest."

"Liberalism is becoming increasingly inconsistent with itself. It started out to promote freedom; today it is justifying dictation; pointing out that people must be forced to be free. It started out to promote equality; today it is advancing the cause of inequality, at least in the field of civil rights, by making people acutely conscious of the color of their skins. It started out to promote the brotherhood of man and is finding that the only way is to create conflicts between countries, groups and between individuals. It started out as idealistic, and is today spawning almost pure materialism. It started out to promote peace—and has hung up the record of backing the United States into each of the three wars of this century."

If I, as a conservative, enjoyed reading liberal books, liberals should enjoy *The Challenge of Conservatism* even if it draws a little blood now and then.

The book was to have been named *The Head-On Collision*—it was changed by the publishers—but that's exactly what it's all about—the head-on collision between two ideologies. . . . Both about as old as the other.

Paul A. Sexson, left, was an assistant to Sen. Barry Goldwater for 12 years. Stephen B. Miles has taught and has written for business publications and conservative journals.

The authors do turn out some very provocative ideas. To the conservative the concept of God is more fundamental than the concept of freedom; to the liberal, freedom is more fundamental than God. The Communist denies both God and freedom.

An old idea of mine crept into the book. Worded thusly: Conservatives are willing to face death, if necessary, in the serene assurance that it is not the end. But for the Communists, and for many, if not most liberals, the loss of their earthly life is indeed the end. There is no Beyond.

The Challenge of Conservatism by Paul A. Sexson and Stephen B. Miles Jr. is an Exposition Press book. Portions of it are extremely controversial, but it is not a mean book—like too many we have read. The book is an interesting exposition of the clash between two opposing forces. The authors contend that liberalism and conservatism are diametric opposites, not only in politics and economics, but in all aspects of life.

Conservatism, they say, is a basic part of human nature, while liberalism is a set of ideas frequently at war with the way man was created.

And finally the book foresees certain victory for conservative principles. The conservatives are going to bury the liberals.

Anyway, no matter what your philosophy is—if you're a person who enjoys the jousting of minds and words—here's a tournament that will hold you for a spell. And if you want to know why you are a conservative, or a liberal for that matter, you ought to read this book.

[Editor's Note: Although *The Challenge of Conservatism* was written during the 1964 campaign, its political analysis is still extremely valuable. As Barry Goldwater says, "I highly recommend this book!"]

Fear of Nuclear War Might Bring Just That

By ALICE WIDENER

Are we so fearful of nuclear war that we are permitting ourselves to be brainwashed into accepting conditions which might lead us into one?

This is a vital question. Too few of us are applying our native common sense and skepticism to the soothing propaganda that is swaying our emotions and judgment about nuclear armaments. In fact, only a handful of daring questioners willing to be smeared as "warmongers" are trying to take a hard look at our situation.

Today we are being warned about the grave dangers in nuclear "proliferation" and are told that every effort must be made to confine nuclear weapons to the Big Five—Communist China, France, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union.

But among the Big Five, two are with us and two are not. How would our security be affected by the addition of two or three West European nations to the two nuclear powers now friendly to us? How would our interests and security be affected in Asia if Japan possessed nuclear arms? Could it not be that such additions (or to use the fancy technical word, proliferation) might greatly strengthen our over-all position?

It is argued, of course, that Communist China and the Soviet Union also can provide nuclear arms to other nations. They can; but at the heaviest kind of cost endangering the very existence of the aggressive Red regimes in China and Russia, where the economies are in bad condition and the people are increasingly restive over the Reds' failure to gratify consumer demands for the necessities of life—food, proper shelter and clothing.

All the industrially advanced nations of West Europe, North America and Asia are opponents of communism because the peoples of the advanced nations are aware that communism creates poverty.

There is another important factor to be considered in world affairs today—the growing awareness of non-Communist political leaders in the so-called unaligned and underdeveloped nations that defeat of Communist China or the Soviet Union would have very little bearing on hopes for a brighter economic future, but annihilation of the United States would be a catastrophe for the world's poor.

Our country is the world's greatest producer of the food and manufactured goods which are essential to many of the underdeveloped nations. Besides, the United States is the only potential economic and agrarian rescuer in times of calamity.

Neither the Soviet Union nor Red China can send food to hungry people; neither can feed its own people. Neither the Soviet Union nor Red China can export manufactured products in great quantities to other nations; the inherent inefficiency of the Communist industrial complex prevents satisfaction of the enormous Chinese and Russian populations' needs.

In other words, the fundamental security of the "unaligned" and "underdeveloped" nations is best served through preservation of capitalist United States, Western Europe, Canada, Australia and Japan.

The main argument of the nonproliferation propagandists is that U.S. and USSR nuclear armaments are in a "balance" which must not be tipped because it is what now assures peace. Americans should know and face up to the fact that use of the word "balance" in this sense is nothing more or less than outright deception.

There is not a single American military expert, scientist, politician, government official or intelligence agent who knows exactly what the Soviet Union and Red China have or have not in nuclear arms. Without sure knowledge of an enemy's potential, it is impossible to assess accurately whether or not that potential is "in balance" with our own.

It is suicidal folly for us to make any unilateral disarmament moves on the basis of reassurance that it will not upset the balance between U.S. and USSR nuclear strength. It is a kind of Russian roulette for us to oppose nuclear proliferation among our allies, including West Germany, for fear of upsetting a non-existent balance. Moreover, there is no way to halt the advance of science and any stop-the-clock endeavor in that regard is certain to fail.

Courageously, we Americans shall have to face the fact that we are living in the nuclear age, and that our security in that kind of world cannot be enhanced by wishful thinking or by permitting ourselves to be brainwashed into believing untruths.

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Even in Revised Form

Rent Subsidy Is Bad Proposal

From the Rockford (Ill.) *Register-Republic*

President Johnson's rent supplement program, which was given the heave-ho in the last session of Congress when it was disclosed that a family with assets of up to $25,000 would be eligible for subsidized housing, may have smoother sailing when Congress returns in January.

Revised Federal Housing Administration ground rules, which will be supplanted by final regulations next month, may pave the way for congressional approval this time around.

Under formulas established by former regulations, persons with high net assets—stocks, bonds, savings and real estate, for example—could live in subsidized housing.

New guidelines reduce the asset level to a flat $5,000 for elderly individuals or couples and $2,000 for all other tenants. This is a far cry from the original Administration measure.

The original supplement program also envisioned federal assistance to individuals and families whose earnings were insufficient to provide standard accommodations but were above the amounts that persons could earn and still be eligible for low-rent public housing.

Both Democrats and Republicans rebelled and under the final bill supplements were limited to persons eligible for public housing—a group completely excluded in the original plan.

Congressional Quarterly, an independent Washington news service, reports that Rep. James Harvey (R.-Mich.), once the most vigorous opponent of funding the rent supplement plan, has softened his attitude.

The program in its revised form also has won the support of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, representing 82,000 real estate men. This support could make the difference in Congress, which last year authorized the program but refused to vote money for it.

The bill, in its simplest terms, opens the way for payment of federal subsidies to owners of rental housing properties. In the long run it will prove of little benefit to the families in need of adequate housing. It could easily lead to rents being raised—and thus make it even more difficult for low-income families to secure rental housing at a price they can afford.

Even in its drastically trimmed form, the rent supplement program is bad legislation, since it subsidizes landlords without providing long-term benefits to tenants. It should be carefully scrutinized and extensively debated in Congress.

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REDS UNITED—Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway (R.-Ga.), who recently returned from the Soviet Union, has put the much-heralded Sino-Soviet split in some perspective. "I am convinced there is a strong rift in their competition for the Communist world, but when it comes to freedom vs. communism they are united against us," Callaway said. "When that question comes up they're just as united as can be."

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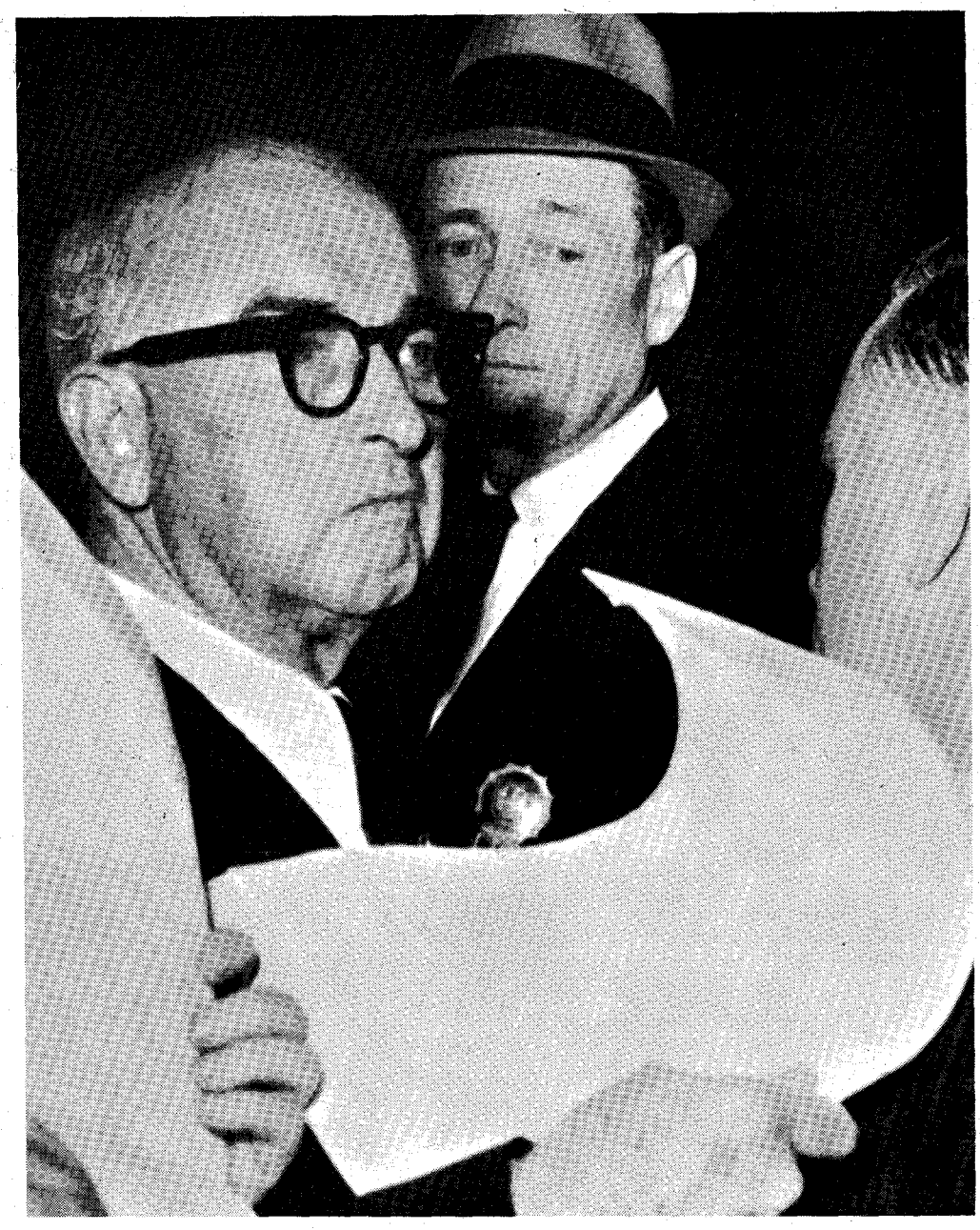
"FUSION" APPOINTMENTS—New York Mayor John Lindsay has appointed two more Democrats to top posts in his administration. The GOP mayor named registered Democrats James F. Hackett and Raymond F. Noland to be deputy fire commissioners. Earlier Lindsay had named Robert O. Lowery, another Democrat, to be fire commissioner.



Transit Workers Union President Michael J. Quill holds warrant placing him under arrest for contempt of court.

Continued from Page 11

Mike Quill—Labor Boss

be convicted under the Smith Act in 1949, the report said of Quill that he was one "who reads Lenin and considers himself a man of principle—a Communist in the true sense."

Quill's sudden case of Red-baiting, Winston assured his comrades, was not rooted in conviction. "Mike the Dime" remained pro-Soviet, said Winston, and his split with the party was over a superficial matter of tactics.

"Since his break," said Fortune magazine a few years later, "Quill's political line has been roughly that of Americans for Democratic Action."

How true. In a 1963 TV appearance, Quill called for the nationalization of the oil and railroad industries. He said, too, that international airlines should be government-owned.

"It's time," Quill argued on the Howard K. Smith show, "to take the profit out of industry."

Since his break Quill has become more irresponsible than ever. He insisted during the Philadelphia strike that management did not have the right to fire unnecessary employes. This despite the fact that the Philadelphia Transit Co. was in danger of going on the financial rocks.

Quill has been accustomed to complete subservience from officials high and low. In 1950, for instance, Quill yanked more than 6,000 New York City subway workers off their jobs in clear violation of the Condon-Wadlin law, which prohibits strikes by government employes in New York state. [This is the law under which he was prosecuted last week.]

What of the future? Quill vows to organize transport workers everywhere. He recognizes no limits, not even the continental boundaries of the United States. His Local 500 covers the airline workers of San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Ahead lie new vistas, the unorganized of 50 states. One possible obstacle lies in Quill's path, however. It is S. 287, a bill introduced by racket-busting John McClellan. The Arkansas Democrat, for several years chairman of the Senate Labor Rackets Committee, has proposed the transportation unions—including the TWU of Mike Quill—come under the jurisdiction of the anti-trust laws.

And that, say aides of Mike Quill, would be "disastrous."

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DRUGGED COSMONAUTS – A copyrighted story in the New York *Daily News* reveals that Soviet cosmonauts are "knocked out with heavy shots of narcotics during the pre-flight preparations" a few hours before take-off. U.S. cosmonauts, in contrast, are completely on their own and no drugs or stimulants are given them.

U.S. Office of Education Again Probes Chicago Schools

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

We are seeing in Chicago the first serious challenge by the federal government of local school board autonomy.

A covey of Washington bureaucrats from the Office of Education has descended upon the Chicago School Board to investigate charges made by a militant civil rights federation that *de facto* segregation in Chicago schools has been promoted by the board.

At issue is whether Chicago is entitled to federal aid. Should the federal investigators find some grounds, no matter how flimsy, it is feared they will order a cut-off of funds under provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

What makes this probe questionable is the fact there already have been two exhaustive studies made of the same charge. Neither could find any basis for contending that school boundaries had been gerrymandered to promote racially segregated schools.

The situation in Chicago is similar to that in many big Northern cities. Formerly integrated school districts have become all-Negro districts as white citizens moved. It would be virtually impossible, and undesirable, to re-draw these school boundaries to keep up with fast-changing housing patterns.

This appears another veiled attack on the neighborhood school system—which has been upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court. The high court has ruled that it isn't the business of local school boards to use artificial means to accomplish integration.

What is happening in Chicago should be closely watched by school boards in every part of the country. It could have an important bearing on their future.

New U.S. Education Commissioner Howard Howe wants broader federal role.

HUMAN EVENTS NOW ON MICROFILM

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Job Corps Camp

'Disneyland for the Disadvantaged'

Newsman Charles Bartlett, who recently visited the scandal-rocked Camp Kilmer Urban Job Corps installation in New Jersey, has taken sharp issue with some soft-headed professors at Rutgers who have criticized the corps operation. The professors from Rutgers —where Viet Cong flag-waver Dr. Eugene Genovese resides—complain that the camp is just too tough on these disadvantaged kids who have been arrested for riotings and stabbings. The university has a contract to advise the International Telephone & Telegraph Corp., which is operating the camp.

The professors say the poor lads lose their identification because they have to wear uniforms and that there just isn't enough recreation, such as "soft drink night club rooms," a coffee house, and good transportation into New York City for the theatre.

"It is clear," said Bartlett, "that the professors have in mind a sort of Disneyland for the disadvantaged. It is also clear that their proposals would work directly against the essential purpose of Camp Kilmer, which is to train young men who did not finish high school to take productive roles in society as quickly as possible."

What is really the "great weakness" of the camp, stated Bartlett, is the heavy emphasis on fun and recreation which is judged necessary to keep the boys in camp. "They have access to movies, free Coke machines, television sets and recreation facilities which would never be contemplated by private educational institutions. A variety of hobby instructors stand by each evening to attract the energy that is not absorbed by a heavy schedule of organized sports. These diversions leave little time for the disciplines of study and the cheerful library has few visitors in the evening."

The volunteers, claimed Bartlett, have been trained to keep their rooms clean, but the "slum-like accumulation of trash and paper that litters the grounds is depressing testimony to the fact that the camp's discipline has a narrow focus.

"Even more depressing is the mess hall, where hired janitors sweep up the bread, napkins and silverware which are strewn about the floor during every meal. This is an outrageous display of waste and slovenliness and the tolerance which allows the government to hire people to clean it up is a missed opportunity to improve these men.

"Even without the new expenses which the professors would thrust upon Camp Kilmer, this is an extremely expensive education program. A staff of 500 is taking care of 1,200 boys. . . . The per capita cost, which includes sending the boys home for Christmas, can easily run to $6,000 a year per student."

House Republican leader Gerald Ford (Mich.), left, wants to use the example set by former President Herbert Hoover to fight waste in government.

Needed: A New Hoover Commission

From the Arizona *Republic*

Early next year, the GOP will push for a new Hoover-type commission to examine the myriad operations of the executive branch of the federal government.

The commission, if established, will study coordination among governmental agencies. It will look for ways to end costly duplication, such as the existing 252 welfare programs. And it will decide whether worthy projects are being neglected at the expense of less important programs.

"The executive branch of the federal government has become the dark continent of American politics," said House Republican Leader Gerald R. Ford. "There is a need for an exploration of its organization and workings, looking toward thorough reorganization."

The first Hoover Report (the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government) was issued in March 1949—almost two years after 73-year-old Herbert Hoover agreed to serve as chairman of one of the most ambitious governmental projects in history. Hoover established 19 task forces, each headed by important figures in industry, government, education and finance, to examine and analyze every detail of the executive branch's operation.

The final report made 280 recommendations for reducing duplication, waste and inefficiency. Despite opposition from entrenched bureaucrats, some 70 per cent of them ultimately were adopted, including one in the Defense Department which eliminated some 100,000 civilian employes at a saving of $1 billion a year.

By 1953 both the national budget and the federal payroll had increased considerably, partly as a result of the Korean War. Once again Congress asked Herbert Hoover to head a commission. And once again Hoover, although nearing 80, agreed.

This Hoover Commission dealt with functions—budgeting, accounting, water resources and power—rather than with departments. Twenty months after its formation, the task forces proposed 314 specific changes, envisioning savings of between $6 and $8 billion a year. Its best known recommendations, which inevitably brought the loudest howls from bureaucrats, were those proposing that government stop competing with private enterprise.

"When we came to look into the history of these government business enterprises," Hoover told the National Conference Board in May 1955, "we found most of them were created in wars and emergencies for some special needed task. But when the task was completed, each had aboard it an empire-seeking bureaucracy and a large pressure group which benefited from it. With these high inspirations, they developed an extraordinary longevity. One of them lasted 36 years and lost money nearly every year. Some of these enterprises are necessary, some are non-competitive."

Hoover pointed out how government-run businesses offered unfair competition—because of their exemption from federal taxes, availability of interest-free capital and an accounting system which omits overhead, personnel, pensions, fringe benefits and similar obligations their private competitors pay. But the loss, he noted, is not just the taxpayers' money. "It is also a loss by injury to the vitality of the private enterprise system. It is a destruction of freedom."

Since this last report was issued, federal employment has risen by more than 100,000, federal expenditures have risen by $57 billion, and, in Rep. Ford's words, "Vast new agencies and functions have come into being."

It is, therefore, time to examine those new agencies and their functions. Hopefully, Congress will agree to allow a bipartisan Hoover-type commission to do just that.

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SHELEPIN "DEMOTION"—The big winner in the recent shakeup in the Soviet hierarchy may well be Alexander Shelepin after all. First reports from Moscow indicated his removal from his post as deputy premier was a demotion. However, Shelepin was made Communist party secretary for organization and personnel, a post which, in effect, gives him the power to hire and fire party officials throughout the Soviet Union. Insiders think Shelepin is the man to watch in the Kremlin; he is considered a "hard-liner" and is supposed to be vehemently anti-American. Should Shelepin rise to the No. 1 spot, some observers think Russia will go back to the Stalinist pattern of domestic terror and more obvious foreign aggression. Such a move would obviously do much to patch up the Sino-Soviet ideological feud.

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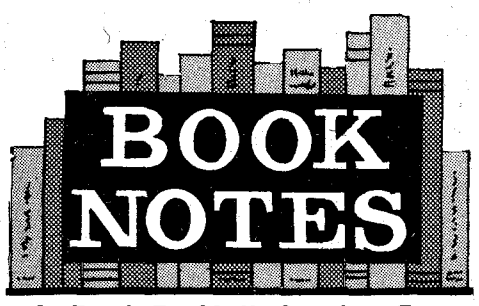
POLISH "LIBERALISM"—More than $600 million in foreign aid has been given the Polish government on the specious belief the nation was moving closer to the West. Recently the Poles demonstrated their liberalism by expelling the New York *Times* correspondent, David Halberstam, from Warsaw. Halberstam's "crime": he wrote that the Polish regime had been "largely installed by a conquering Red Army."



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DESPOILERS OF DEMOCRACY by Clark R. Mollenhoff (Doubleday, 411 pages, $5.95). The title page promises this to be "The real story of what Washington propagandists, arrogant bureaucrats, mismanagers, influence peddlers, and outright corrupters are doing to our federal government." The promise is amply fulfilled in 26 chapters, including ones titled "Lying in State (and Defense)," "A Bug in the State Department," and "The 'Gross Improprieties' of Bobby Baker." The author, a member of the Washington bureau of the Cowles Publications and a Pulitzer Prize-winning newsman, is well known for his earlier work, "Washington Cover-Up."

In this present book Mollenhoff has, as Edward Neff writes in the Republican Congressional **Newsletter**, "painstakingly collected and set down, detail by infuriating detail, a record of cynicism, blind conceit, greed, treachery and simple stupidity."

THE ANTI-VIETNAM AGITATION AND THE TEACH-IN MOVEMENT (a Staff Study of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, 256 pages, 70 cents). This is an exhaustive, indexed study, intended, as Sen. Thomas Dodd writes in the introduction, to establish "whether the Communist party and its various affiliates have succeeded in infiltrating and manipulating and exploiting the so-called teach-in movement and the anti-Viet Nam agitation . . . " The report concludes that the evidence is overwhelming that the world Communist apparatus has done just that.

(Order this booklet directly from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.)

'RECLAIMING THE AMERICAN DREAM by Richard C. Cornuelle (Random House, 171 pages, $3.95). Mr. Cornuelle rejects the notion that the fading American dream can ever be recaptured by the complicated interplay of a **laissez faire** market, or through the prevailing system of monarchy-by-bureaucrat. Instead, he suggests, those frightened into action by the specter of Big Government should recognize the potential for social accomplishment of the "independent sector"—those non-government, non-free enterprise organizations which have fallen lately into disuse. Mr. Cornuelle sees the independent sector at work when a private organization develops anti-polio vaccine, the Mormon Church provides for the welfare needs of its members and the Alcoholics Anonymous help each other. The ideas are not all new and the conclusions perhaps overly optomistic but the author marshalls impressive support for his contention.

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